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7 ART. I.—FAITH AND SCIENCE—COMTE'S POSITIVE
PHILOSOPHY.

By Rev. Fred. Holmes.
Cours de Philosophie Positive. Par M. Auguste Comte, Ancien Elève de l'Ecole Polytechnique; Répétiteur d'Analyse Transcendentale, et de Mécanique Rationnelle à la dite Ecole. Paris: Bachelier. 1830-1842. 6 tomes, 8vo.

TWELVE long years elapsed during the slow publication of the successive volumes of M. Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, and nearly ten more have passed away since it was submitted in its complete form to the tribunal of public opinion. The writings of Mr. Lewes, M. Littré, and M. Pinel, and also those of Prof. Whewell and Mr. Mill, forbid our supposing that M. Comte's views have been wholly without influence; yet, during the whole period of these twenty-one years, in which this system of Positive Philosophy has attained its legal majority, it has been but twice noticed, as far as we are aware, in the periodical criticism of Europe,* and never in that of America;† and even the name of its illustrious author would have remained a *nomen ignotum* to the large majority of the literary world, but for a cursory and unsatisfactory critique upon the work in Mr. Morell's *Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century*, and a less meagre but scarcely more adequate examination of his doctrines in Mr. Blakey's *History of the Philosophy of Mind*. From these scanty sources, but especially from Mr. Morell's very limited and borrowed criticism, have been derived the few passing observations upon M. Comte's philosophy, which have been occasionally hazarded in the ephemeral publications of the day. The comparatively recent

* Sir David Brewster, in the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1833, No. clxxxvi, art. i; and Prof. Emile Saisset in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. This "strange silence" is noticed by M. Comte himself.—Tome vi, Préface, p. xxi.

† Since this was written an excellent article on the subject has appeared in a contemporary journal.

production of the political and social doctrine to which the speculative system of Positivism serves as a propædæutic, has recalled our attention to that elaborate scheme which constitutes its basis. We would have enlarged our rubric and our text by the addition of the "*République Occidentale*," but the fallacies of the latter can be duly appreciated only after a candid estimate of the merits and defects of the great preliminary work. Moreover, we are not disposed to increase the magnitude and diversity of a subject already too ample and complex, by connecting with its examination an inquiry into another topic which more appropriately demands independent treatment, and may receive it at our hands on some future occasion. We shall find it necessary to trim down even the contents of the volumes which form our text into manageable size and shape, by the exclusion of almost everything which is not immediately connected with M. Comte's philosophic method; and while yielding to this necessity, we cannot be guilty of the inconsistency of augmenting the range of view on another side, by bringing within the sweep of our horizon another work which can well await a separate consideration. We are anxious, *pro virili parte*, to atone for the neglect with which M. Comte's labours have been hitherto visited, and to present a sufficient and impartial estimate of that philosophic system, which forms in itself a complete and symmetrical method, and one which is assimilated so closely in many respects to the intellectual instincts and appetites of the day, that its secret influence will be almost exactly proportionate to the degree of public disregard with which it may be visited. In that struggle between religion and science, between philosophy and faith, which has already commenced, and which must play so important a part in the intellectual history of the remainder of the century, a large, ingenious, and learned party must recognise Comte as their apostle, and the Positive Philosophy as their creed; nor can the votaries of the Christian faith be prepared to resist the rising deluge of error, unless they have first patiently weighed and dispassionately appreciated the current forms of metaphysical or speculative delusion—and Positivism among the rest. For these reasons, late though it may appear to be, we propose at this time to exhibit the doctrines of M. Comte, to examine their validity, to acknowledge their occasional and limited truth, and, so far as we may be able to do so, to expose their fallacies, and refute the principles from which we conceive that their errors proceed.

In the solitary review of the work, which has hitherto appeared in the English journals, only the first two volumes were considered by Sir David Brewster. In these the philosophy of Comte was barely indicated, but by no means developed; and what was impor-

tant or original even in the fragment reviewed, was unappreciated or misunderstood in the feeble essay of the reviewer. We can scarcely conceive anything more unfortunately inapposite and irrelevant to the intellectual characteristics of the author reviewed, than the smooth, elegant, and plausible remarks with which Sir David commences his criticism. Yet, notwithstanding his limited comprehension, or, rather, total misapprehension, of the scope and nature of the treatise of M. Comte, he commends it as "a work of profound science, marked with great acuteness of reasoning, and conspicuous for the highest attributes of intellectual power." Equally strong and flattering is the testimony to its merits offered by the few other writers in England who have spoken of it. Morell admits "the admiration excited by the author's brilliant scientific genius."* Blakey's eulogy is to the like effect. Mill, who is so largely indebted to it for much that is most valuable in his own celebrated treatise on logic, frankly acknowledges his indebtedness, and constantly bestows upon Comte cordial and generous commendation. "Within a few years," says he, "three writers, profoundly versed in physical science, and not unaccustomed to carry their speculations into higher regions of knowledge, have made attempts of unequal, but all of very great merit, towards the creation of a philosophy of induction: Sir John Herschel, in his *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*; Mr. Whewell, in his *History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*; and, greatest of all, M. Auguste Comte, in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, a work which only requires to be better known to place its author in the first class of European thinkers."† Prof. Whewell, in the works to which Mr. Mill refers, has paid the Positive Philosophy of M. Comte the very significant compliment of borrowing from it to a vast extent, without making any acknowledgment whatever. These works of Dr. Whewell's were evidently suggested to him by Sir John Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*.‡ The leading idea in the plan of the history is due partly to Victor Cousin, and partly to Comte;§ and the larger portion of the philosophy which has any appearance of novelty or depth may be traced to the more or less distinct intima-

* Morell's knowledge of Comte seems to have been taken at second-hand from the essays of Brewster and Saisset.

† Mill's *Logic*, b. iii, ch. i. See also his estimate more explicitly recorded b. iii, ch. v, ch. xxiv; b. vi, ch. x.

‡ The germs of these works may be found in a review of Sir John Herschel's *Discourse*, evidently written by Prof. Whewell, in the *London Quarterly Review* for July, 1831.

§ This fact, with respect to Victor Cousin, appears sufficiently established in the *Southern Quarterly Review* for July, 1842.

tions of Kant and Comte.* Yet his very great obligations to these authors are nowhere acknowledged further than by a rare and reluctant reference to their writings.† Mr. Mill proclaims liberally, and in strong terms, the aid which he derived in the composition of his system of logic from the above-mentioned works of Dr. Whewell; but, with the exception of a few happily invented technical phrases, all the assistance which was obtained from those sources might have been more efficiently obtained from the Cours de Philosophie Positive, either by the direct adoption or the suggested refutation of the conclusions of M. Comte.

When such high encomiums have been bestowed upon the elaborate treatise of M. Comte by the concurrent testimony of the few distinguished writers who have studied its contents and availed themselves of its results, it may appear singular that it has never, in the course of the nine years which have elapsed since its completion, been brought to the test of full and intelligent criticism in Europe or America. This may in some measure be accounted for by the immense range of varied erudition exhibited in it, which seems to require an analogous, though not necessarily equivalent, *πολυμαθία*, in any one who should undertake to give a complete analysis or refutation of its conclusions. Moreover, the originality and abstruseness of many of the speculations, which rest on the vast scaffolding of the author's acquired knowledge, can only be apprehended in their full significance, and weighed in a just balance, by a mind more untrammelled by ordinary prejudices, and less wedded to received formulas, than can be readily found in the present day. In addition to all this, the boldness, the novelty, the exhaustless variety, the copiousness, the logical coherence, and the remarkable extent of the work, combine to render a thorough examination and appreciation of its doctrines eminently difficult. It may appear paradoxical to mention its rigid logical connexion among the obstacles tending to prevent an earlier criticism of the work; but the perfect harmony and mutual dependence of all its parts necessitate the clear apprehension of the system as a whole, before any satisfactory judgment on it can be rendered.‡ And the difficulty, as

* We do not mean to accuse Whewell of downright plagiarism, though this charge might be justified by some incidents in his literary career, but only of such indebtedness as ought to have been acknowledged. His appropriations reappear as identical arguments and conclusions, as modified doctrines, or as contradictory views, all, however, evidently suggested by the writers mentioned above.

† If we remember correctly, there are two references to Comte in Mr. Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences.

‡ "Sans doute la nature de ce cours ne saurait être complètement appréciée, de manière à pouvoir s'en former une opinion définitive, que lorsque les diverses

well as rarity, of such apprehension may be easily estimated by any one who has noted the singular incapacity of the contemporaneous generation for enlarged and connected speculation,* and who is aware of the deficiency of modern thinkers and writers in everything appertaining to strict logical investigation and extended logical concatenation. Every one who has studied the works of Leibnitz must have observed how utterly ridiculous and anomalous his peculiar doctrines appear, when severed from that grand but fallacious scheme of which they constitute such essential details.† Eminently plausible when considered in their native setting and harmonious correlation, they excite only a smile when exhibited in naked isolation. In the same way, to understand the separate dogmas of Comte, we must contemplate them in their symmetrical correspondence with, and dependence on, that vast reintegration and expansion of the whole body of the sciences, which he has so ably endeavoured to constitute. But in order to do this effectually, we must wander through the maze of all known or conjectural science, and digest the immense mass of important doctrine which is thickly spread over the five thousand pages of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. If we judge from the long silence of the critics, this is a task almost beyond the capacity of human performance—it is certainly not achieved by Prof. Saisset—it is one which, if satisfactorily executed, would require, according to the mode of its accomplishment, either nearly equal or else greater genius and learning than have been displayed by M. Comte in the construction of this mighty monument of intellectual power. It is not always, but it certainly is sometimes true, that the correction of speculative errors and aberrations requires greater abilities and attainments than their creation. We have no hesitation in declaring that such will be the case whenever M. Comte's system of philosophy may

parties en auront été successivement développées.”—*Comte, Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome i, p. 1. The composition of a work so extensive and so closely articulated as Comte's is a remarkable anomaly in this age, and justifies his own remark: “A une époque de divagation intellectuelle, et de versatilité politique, toute longue persévérance dans une direction rigoureusement invariable, peut, sans doute, être justement signalée au public, comme une solide garantie de leur (les nouveaux principes) consistence, et même de leur opportunité,” &c.—Tome vi, p. iv.

° The contracted and limited horizon with which men of science bound their views in our day is constantly noted and reprehended by Comte. *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome i, p. 29; vi, pp. xxii, 15, 23, 289–292, 340, 643, 675.

† The mutual interdependence of the doctrines of Leibnitz is traced with some ability by Morell, *Crit. Hist. Phil.*, &c.; and better in Brucker's able summary, *Hist. Crit. Phil.*, tome v, pp. 397–446; but can be fully appreciated only from the direct study of the works of Leibnitz himself.

meet with a full, adequate, and dispassionate refutation, coextensive with the range of the heresy, equally comprehensive in its general principles, and equally complete in its details.

We have perhaps already given an ample excuse to exonerate the pericritical criticism of Europe and America from any very harsh censure for its long neglect of M. Comte; and we have assuredly said enough to manifest our full sense of our own inefficiency for the adequate performance of the task. But while the bow of Ulysses stands idle in the hall, and the twenty years of hopeless wandering and anxious expectation have been consumed before the master's hand has been extended to draw it, we may perhaps be pardoned if, as no Ulysses appears, we adapt the bow to our strength and endeavour to wield it, without laying claim to any permanent acquisition of it; for, until the bow be bent and the arrow sped to the mark, it will be the source of evils innumerable to men, instead of defending them against the calamities which it might be potent to avert.

Πολλοὺς γὰρ τότε τόξον ἁριστῆας κεκαθήσει
Θυμῷ καὶ ψυχῇ.

We shall not attempt to review the whole ground over which the labours of M. Comte extend—a task for which we candidly confess our own incompetency, and which, even if not beyond our ability, would be precluded by the necessary limits of this article. Neglecting for the time his skilful elaboration of a new classification of the sciences,* and the valuable strictures on the several departments of human knowledge with which he has enriched his work, we will confine our attention to the examination of that system of Positive Philosophy, of which he so loftily and constantly claims to be the founder,† and whose definite establishment he boldly proclaims in his *République Occidentale*. In thus separating the leading element from the rest of these important labours, and concentrating our regards upon it, we deem that we shall be rendering better service to our readers than we should have done, had either ability or inclination permitted us to enter upon that full examination of the complete work which we recognise as beyond our strength; for thus we should only have dissipated the force of our remarks over an infinite multiplicity and diversity of details. M. Comte's contributions to the philosophy of the inductive sciences have been already in part appropriated by Dr. Whe-

* Of this Mr. Mill speaks in these terms: "M. Comte, whose view of the philosophy of classification, in the third volume of his great work, is the most complete with which I am acquainted," &c.—*Logic*, b. iv, ch. vii.

† "Le Fondateur d'une nouvelle philosophie."—*Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome vi, préf., p. vi. "Fondateur d'une nouvelle philosophie générale, à la fois historique et dogmatique."—Tome vi, p. xxviii, cf. p. 288, and numerous other passages.

well, and, in some measure, criticised and appreciated by Mr. Mill. His systematic classification of the sciences, or, as he terms it himself, "la vraie hiérarchie encyclopédique," "cette hiérarchie fondamentale des sciences positives,"* can be more profitably estimated in connexion with the elaborate but somewhat grotesque scheme of M. Ampère,† who has been largely, but perhaps unconsciously, aided by his predecessor; and his criticisms on the separate sciences may be judiciously referred, on his own principles,‡ to the special examination of the cultivators of the several sciences respectively. His Philosophy of History, which is eminently ingenious, and in many respects profound, and which has been unjustly neglected by Ferrari,§ may occasionally furnish us with some necessary illustrations, but cannot be permitted to break the unity of our aims; while his creation of Social Philosophy, so loudly and so rightfully claimed by him as exclusively his own, is well entitled, by its extent and importance, to an independent discussion, without which its merits and its defects cannot be fairly tested. By this division of labour alone is there any prospect of the formation of a just estimate of the value and the results of M. Comte's labours; and in this way, what might be beyond the separate ability of one to accomplish, may be separately achieved by the distinct but concurring exertions of many. We have divided our strand from the cord as appropriate to the time, the occasion, and our own ability; we have taken for our text what may seem the least part of M. Comte's work, but it is the leaven which leaveneth the whole lump; and if we refute his philosophy, his errors are crushed in the germ. We shall therefore limit our view almost exclusively to the nature, value, and tendencies of M. Comte's system of Positive Philosophy. We shall, however, remember, and our readers should remember also, that M. Comte's intellectual rank is to be judged by no such partial criterion, but from the aggregate of his labours, and from the extent, compactness, profundity, and universality of his researches. Perhaps, when all that he has done is taken into sober consideration, it may be thought that he stands next to Bacon among modern philosophers—*proximus, sed longo intervallo*. He is superior to the sage of Verulam in everything but sobriety of judgment, poetic richness of imagination, and

* Comte, Cours de Phil. Pos., tome vi, préface, p. vii; tome i, p. 98.

† Essai de Philosophie: ou Exposition Analytique d'une Classification Naturelle de toutes les connaissances humaines. Par André Marie Ampère. 2 vols., 8vo. Paris: 1838-1843.

‡ Comte, Cours de Phil. Pos., leçon lvii.

§ Ferrari, Essai sur le Principe et les Limites de la Philosophie de l'Histoire. Paris: 1843.

that first and loftiest of all gifts of genius, justice of conception. But whatever may be thought of him in comparison with the founder of modern science—and he himself pretends to no equality—he is certainly entitled to rank with, if not above, Hobbes, Descartes, and Leibnitz—perhaps we might add Kant.

Before entering, however, upon the analysis of the Positive Philosophy, some previous notice of the author, of his motives in writing this work, of the circumstances under which it was composed, and of its general character, may be acceptable to our readers, particularly as both the book and the author are so little known among us. A few brief remarks upon these topics are all that we can venture to indulge in before entering upon the character and tendencies of the Positive Philosophy.

M. Comte states, in his personal preface to the sixth volume of his work, that he was sprung from a Catholic and royalist family in the south of France, and brought up in the midst of royalist and Catholic influences. He appears, nevertheless, to have thrown himself at a very early age into the current of revolutionary feeling. From his birth and education he may have imbibed that bitter detestation of the name and fame of Napoleon which is so frequently and so singularly exemplified in his works. Educated at the Polytechnic School, he was early initiated into that mathematical and scientific discipline which he makes the basis, and we might almost say the sum, of all valuable learning. Regarding the instruction obtained at this celebrated institute as incomplete and insufficient, he prepared himself for his already contemplated renovation of sciences and societies, by sedulous application to the more recondite study of the phenomena of social existence and the phases of humanity in past ages. He was thus led to the discovery in 1812, at the age of twenty-four, of what he calls "the true encyclopædical hierarchy of the sciences," and of the complete harmony and mutual interdependence of his intellectual and political speculations. But not content with the mere repetition and extension of the accredited doctrines handed down by others, nor even with the vague fancies of possible regeneration which floated dimly before his eyes, he plunged boldly into the vortex of those wilder speculations which were broached obscurely in his youth, and he appears to have been one of the first, as he certainly was the most distinguished, of the acolytes of Saint-Simon. In that scanty band of enthusiasts and fanatics, whose reveries were barely redeemed from insanity by the high and solemn, though impracticable, nature of their aims, he seems to have rendered himself equally notorious by his talents and by his cold and sweeping infidelity. So fixed, so calm, so cold, indeed, was this infi-

delity, that it was rebuked even by Saint-Simon on his death-bed. From the ranks of the Saint-Simonians, however, M. Comte withdrew after a short period of service; and he now looks back with repentance, regret, and no slight scorn, to his former connexion with the singular founder of that singular sect.* But, notwithstanding this secession, and the bitterness which it has left behind, he has carried with him into the wider sphere of his own original speculations, the same feelings, the same objects, and frequently the same doctrines as were entertained by the grotesque and erratic hierarch whose ministry he had abjured. Certain it is that the impress of Saint-Simon is often to be detected in the most characteristic positions of the *Philosophie Positive*. It was while yet numbered among the Saint-Simonians that M. Comte gave the first distinct intimations of that colossal scheme which he has since accomplished. He had been destined for the great work of the renovation of the sciences and the regeneration of society by Saint-Simon himself; he had been by him designated as a fitting Elisha on whom the mantle of Elijah should descend; and he laid the foundation-stone of the contemplated edifice by the publication of his *Système de Politique Positive* in 1822. Perhaps dissatisfied with the mysticism which encircled the hard and practical, though fantastic, realities of Saint-Simonism; perhaps unwilling to remain trammelled by adherence to a system which, notwithstanding its tendencies to libertinism, was yet reluctant to renounce wholly the recognition of a Deity, or the necessity of religion;† M. Comte withdrew from the communion of that sect, which was ready to honour him as the anointed successor to their founder, and boldly undertook the construction of an independent system for himself.

He had scarcely, however, entered upon the oral exposition of those new doctrines which are embodied in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, when his labours were interrupted by an attack of mental derangement, which he has characterized as “une crise cérébrale,” and attributed to the combined influence of great distress and excessive labour. When medicine and science despaired of a cure, nature was left to her own unrestricted energies; and, indeed, by judicious nursing, “the inherent strength of his constitution triumphed over his disease, and even over the doctor’s prescriptions.”‡ M. Comte, after his recovery, immediately resumed the thread of his specula-

* See what he says of his Saint-Simonian fever. *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome vi, pp. vii, viii.

† This seems to have been the principal cause of the schism. *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome vi, p. ix, note.

‡ *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome vi, p. x, note.

tions, and concluded, in 1829, the oral elaboration of his views, which had been broken off by his mental alienation three years before. He boasts that this terrible episode in his career in no respect affected the perfect continuity of his intellectual development; but those who are disposed to criticise his philosophy harshly, may suspect that some traces of insanity may yet be detected in some of the extravagant propositions of the Positive Philosophy, and especially in its sweeping and impassive atheism.

M. Comte informs us that he has, during his whole life, been wholly dependent on his own exertions for support; that he was entirely without private fortune at the commencement of his career; that from the age of eighteen he has been teaching mathematics from six to eight hours a day;* that it was not until 1832 that he was admitted into the faculty of the Polytechnic School, and then only as a tutor of the lowest grade; that at the age of forty-five, when he completed the publication of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, his means were still uncertain and limited; and that he was without any assured provision for his old age, though he expresses an entire confidence in the generous support of his countrymen, and appeals, for the estimation of his labours, from the neglect and injustice of his compeers, to the bar of the public opinion of France and Europe. Of the weight to be attached to his criminations of the Polytechnic School, of the Institute, of the Government, and of the mathematicians of France,—though, in regard to the last, they have been repeated by Hoéné Wrouski,—we cannot and need not judge;† but we cannot refrain from expressing our admiration of the high sentiments which are conveyed, and the lofty spirit of philosophic independence which is breathed by the language of his appeal.‡

Another appeal to the “Occidental Public,” which is appended as a post-scriptum to the “*République Occidentale*,” enables us to bring down M. Comte’s personal history to the middle of the year 1848. It reveals a more melancholy condition than its predecessor. He says that his persecutions have extended even beyond his previous apprehensions. In the July of 1844 he was summarily ejected from his office in the Polytechnic School by the machinations and

* In singular contradiction to Comte’s own declarations, Morell says: “Up to the year 1816 he was a teacher in the Polytechnic School at Paris.”—*Crit. Hist. Phil. XIX. Century*, p. 354.

† Tome vi, pp. x-xxxiv. After the revolution of February, however, M. Comte retracted his language with respect to M. Arago, whom he had termed “fidèle organe spontané des passions et des aberrations propres à la classe qu’il domine aujourd’hui si déplorablement.”—Tome vi, p. xvi, note. The retraction is repeated in the preface to the *République Occidentale*, pp. xi, xii.

‡ *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome vi, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

injustice of his scientific enemies. He has had to return to the occupation of private instruction, and "commenced his second half-century by resuming for life the humble and laborious profession which seemed appropriate only to his more youthful years."*

Notwithstanding the noble appeal of M. Comte to the public opinion of Europe, his labours remain to this day unappreciated. By some few thinkers his conclusions have been rashly adopted with indiscriminate admiration; by a few others they have been reprobated with undistinguishing acrimony; and by Mr. Mill, as far as they ran parallel with his own studies, they have been cordially appreciated: but no suitable response has been given to the manly appeal of their author. Yet, when we examine his work, it is difficult to determine whether we ought to admire most the constant industry and the unswerving perseverance of twenty years devoted to its composition, or the genius, profundity, boldness, originality, and learning displayed on every page. These characteristics are entitled to our earnest approbation, whether M. Comte's conclusions be considered accurate or not. Indeed, no more memorable instance has fallen under our cognizance of patient, continued, and logical investigation, and of unflinching perseverance in defiance of all obstacles, than is displayed in the volumes under review. In spite of his constant and common-place avocations; of the difficulties and trials of his private life; of the jealousy or animosity of men distinguished equally by their talents, their reputation, and their influence; of the interruptions of sickness, the seductions of deceptive theories, and the scantiness of leisure hours—in spite of all these things, and, worse than all, of the grinding oppression of poverty, M. Comte has pressed steadily onwards, from his youth to the turn of mature life, towards the final accomplishment of his early meditated designs, and has ultimately succeeded in completing the immense elaboration of his vast system in the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. Considering this, however, as merely the necessary introduction to more immediately practical labours, he closes his long work with the promise and the delineation of those ulterior speculations, for which all that he has already accomplished is regarded merely as the indispensable preparation. It would be difficult, if not impossible, in the present age to find a parallel for the immense learning and labour of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*; it would be questionable whether in any age an analogous case could be discovered, in which such labours had been contemplated by their author as merely the scaffolding for higher and more important constructions, designed and to be erected by himself. These are con-

* *République Occidentale*, p. 398.

siderations which entitle M. Comte to our admiration, wholly irrespective of the error or the truth of his conclusions, or of the beneficial or pernicious tendency of his writings.

One of the most remarkable peculiarities connected with the composition of this work, is the singularly brief time in which its different parts were written. In the midst of all other engagements and distractions, these five thousand pages were composed in twenty-two months of actual labour, as appears from the data communicated by M. Comte in the general table of contents appended to the sixth volume. The publication, owing to a variety of delays, was prolonged through the tedious term of twelve years; but the treatise was written by scraps at different times, which in the aggregate amount to only the above-mentioned period of twenty-two months. It is true that long previous meditation had already developed in his mind the connected scheme of the Positive Philosophy, and his public lectures had in a great measure settled the form and systematized the order of its exposition; still, when we consider the range, the variety, and the learning of the work, the extreme rapidity of its composition must be regarded as not the least remarkable of its characteristics. It adds to our admiration also, that, though this hasty execution has occasioned prolixity and needless repetition, it has in no wise impaired the strict logical concatenation, the close interdependence, or the symmetry of its respective parts.

Before concluding this rapid notice of the critical merits of M. Comte, we must commend the perspicuity and translucent clearness of his style, the quaint but vigorous originality of his expressions, and the happy grace of his forcible mode of argumentation. His literary excellences are by no means inferior either to his philosophical profundity or his scientific attainments.

The motives which inspired the composition of this great philosophical system may be in some measure inferred from our previous remarks; but they are so closely connected with the satisfaction of the wants, and with the realization of the most active appetencies of the age—and, furthermore, they shed so much light upon the character of the system itself, that if we had the space, we would scarcely deem it irrelevant to accord to them a more extended examination here. Moreover, we regard the feeling which prompted M. Comte's vast exertions, guided his investigations, and determined his utterance, as being that feeling which it is most important to awaken in the minds of the passing generation; for, whatever may be our estimate of the method or of the results of the Positive Philosophy, there is no room for doubting the urgent necessity for a general intellectual regeneration, though we would have it irradiated by a very different

spirit from that which breathes through the creed of M. Comte. Nevertheless, the full and clear-sighted recognition of such a necessity has furnished the main-spring of his labours, and the desire of suitably supplying the want has given birth to his great treatise. He says of himself:—

“When I had barely attained the age of fourteen, I had already, of my own accord, run over all the essential degrees of the revolutionary spirit, and experienced the fundamental necessity of a universal regeneration, at once political and philosophical, under the active energy of that salutary crisis, whose principal phase had preceded my birth.”

M. Comte may, perhaps, have deceived himself in tracing to so early a period the origin of his particular philosophy, from the desire to assimilate his own intellectual development to that of Lord Bacon, whom he regards, most erroneously, as the apostle of Positivism;* but the anxiety to prepare the way, and, if possible, to determine the form for this second instauration of the sciences has undoubtedly been the actuating principle of his philosophical life. Our estimate of the results and aims of his philosophy will accordingly depend to no slight extent upon our agreement or disagreement with his conclusions in regard to the social, political, and intellectual condition of modern civilization.

For ourselves, we have no hesitation in declaring that we assent most cordially to nearly all of M. Comte's strictures on the present age. With him we recognise its total want of consistent principles, and the entire absence of anything like logical or philosophical sequence in its schemes, its practices, and its reasonings. We perceive most clearly the universal spirit of resistance to all authority, resulting in anarchy intellectual, political, social, and religious; the substitution of false and petty aims in life for the noble sentiments of right and duty; the degradation of all science into the mere instrument of pecuniary advancement, and the concomitant decline of science itself. Like him, we admit and lament the mammonization of all the springs, processes, and results of human action, whether collective or individual; and we regard these evils as being pre-eminently the characteristics of this self-glorifying, self-stultifying age of intellect. To these things, as not very remote causes, we trace the social and political calamities and revolutions which have illustrated the history of the recent years; and we can conceive of no remedy for the present condition of the European world, and possibly for the impending fate of America, which does not commence with a

* “Les deux éternels législateurs primitifs de la philosophie positive, Bacon et Descartes.”—*Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome vi, p. 455; v, pp. 695, 756, 784, 886.

complete reformation and reorganization of our philosophy. Thus our opinions are in perfect unison with those of M. Comte as to the task which is proposed to the present generation, and the nature of the medium in which it is to be accomplished; and, however widely we may differ from him in our choice of the modes of procedure to be adopted, and dissent from the fundamental principles of the required philosophy proposed by him, we acknowledge the valuable services which he has rendered by precisely stating the conditions of the problem, and offer the cordial tribute of our admiration to the singular genius, learning, and sagacity with which they have been settled, proved, and illustrated.

A vague and latent feeling of these pernicious characteristics of the times, with their dependent consequences, led to the premature, fantastic, and irrational reveries of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen. But, however chimerical we may deem their views, and however delusive or demoralizing we may consider their projects, these writers are entitled to our conscientious regard for the promptitude with which they detected the obscure nature of the disease, the boldness with which they attempted to expose it, and the faithful diligence with which they endeavoured to discover and apply a remedy; for these growing evils were then imminent, and they are still impending fatally over the human race—more fatally for the recent explosion in Europe—and they demand a prompt, a clear, and a sufficient solution.

It was the common recognition of the same phenomena and the same necessities, which led M. Comte to associate himself with Saint-Simon: they were inspired with the same hopes, and actuated by the same spirit. They both saw the urgency of a complete intellectual regeneration, which might revivify every department of human speculation and practice, and might effectually reorganize the various systems of social co-ordination. M. Saint-Simon was an enthusiast, a fanatic, and the constant dupe of his own vanity: he was uneducated, and his mind was undisciplined, and consequently his refuge and his creed was mysticism. M. Comte is more learned, more sober, more practical, and more profound; but both aimed at the same end, and hoped for its achievement by analogous means. If the one degraded and the other denied religion, they both did so under the delusion that Christianity was effete or false, and proved to be so by the utter decay of its influence over the lives and actions of men, and by its apparent inefficacy to remedy those social disorders which they did not perceive had sprung from infidelity of heart, and from practical disregard of its precepts and solemn ordinances.

Out of the ranks of the Saint-Simonians, as in them, M. Comte still kept the same high objects in view. He thought, he studied, he lectured, he taught, and he wrote, to call the attention of mankind to their condition and their wants; to awaken them to the recognition of the necessity of an instant and thorough intellectual regeneration; to urge them to the laborious accomplishment of the great task; and to offer them what seemed to himself a sufficient, and the only sufficient guide for their labours, and remedy for their distempers. Whether, in this estimate, he has not deceived himself, we shall hereafter inquire: but it is to the constant stimulus of such views and feelings that we owe the composition of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*; and we freely acknowledge our deep gratitude for the gift. We shall censure as strongly as any one the fallacies and sophistries of its infidelity, and the errors which we deem its author to have committed; but, on the whole, we regard it as the great and most valuable legacy which the first half of the nineteenth century has bequeathed to posterity. M. Comte recognises, illustrates, and probes, with a delicate and faithful hand, the nature and sources of that universal distemperature of the times, which threatens to convert the human family into a pandemonium upon earth, and to render all human achievement, all human civilization, and all human science, the instruments of the most complete and wide-spreading debasement of society. He points out the gross intellectual aberrations into which this enlightened age has fallen; the deep-seated intellectual anarchy and licentiousness which prevail, to the discomfiture of science, philosophy, and social organization: to these sources he traces the revolutionary character of the day, the wants and miseries of the masses, and the advancing disintegration of all intellectual systems. But, not content with merely calling attention to the existence of evil—a mission which Carlyle has performed with the ignorance, but also with the frenzied inspiration of a priestess of Delphi or Dodona—he endeavours to characterize its nature and discover its origin; and unsatisfied even with this, he suggests remedies, and offers what he deems a panacea in a new method of science, a new instauration of learning, a new philosophy without a creed, and a concomitant and accordant reorganization of society. Such is the purpose of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*.

Referring the social difficulties and disorders of the times to the unsoundness of our intellectual principles, to the vague and fluctuating nature of all our speculations about men and states, and to the logical fallacies involved in all our scientific processes, M. Comte deems it necessary to constitute the general science of societies (*Sociology*) before proceeding to examine questions of politics

proper, or of political economy. But, in order duly to create this social science, he examines the grounds and truth of all other human sciences, regarding them as the necessary preliminaries to the examination of the phenomena of social existence. These propædæutic studies, each of which has its own independent value, can, however, be neither criticised nor examined, except in their mutual relations and interdependence; nor can they be reformed or corrected without a constant reference to some fixed scientific method. Hence the necessity of commencing these labours by a formal classification of the sciences; and hence also the necessity of making such classification dependent upon a clearly defined method. This method must of course be determined by the nature of the faculties of the human mind, by the degree of certainty conceived to appertain to human knowledge, and by the character which belongs to all human reasoning. All methods agree in seeking their determination from these sources, and the diversities by which they may be separated from each other thus spring entirely from the different modes in which these problems are interpreted by different minds.

Under the influence of these considerations, M. Comte determines the character, conditions, and limitations of human knowledge, and the method of scientific inquiry to be pursued in accordance with such restrictions, which method he terms the Positive Philosophy. He then proceeds, by the application and development of this method, to build up the several sciences in regular order and due sequence, raising them stage by stage above each other in beautiful and harmonious co-ordination, thus constructing his new classification of the sciences, or *Hierarchie des Sciences Positives*. As he advances, he points out the peculiarities, the excellences, and the defects of the several sciences—he determines what conclusions are solid, what doubtful, and what fallacious—develops the positive method concurrently with his criticism—and thus passes through all the subordinate and interdependent degrees to those biological studies which, though not cultivated philosophically as yet, nevertheless form the indispensable link of transition to the study of the actions of masses of men, the doctrine of communities, or what he has named Social or Sociological science.

This orderly and logical mode of procedure suggests to us the course to be adopted in our examination of M. Comte's system of philosophy. Leaving out of view the application of his doctrines to the separate sciences, and neglecting his scheme of classification, as not specially belonging to the present inquiry, we shall first consider briefly his views of the nature and limitations of human knowledge; then proceed to an examination of his Method; next investigate the

character and efficiency of the Positive Philosophy; and conclude with an estimate of the validity, the tendencies, and the defects of this recent counterpart to the *Instauratio Magna* of Lord Bacon. Throughout this examination, we shall find at every step new cause for admiration, in the work, though we may ultimately conclude that the views therein set forth are imperfect, impracticable, or fallacious; and may find that the writer has overlooked many of the most vital phenomena and most important characteristics of human life and knowledge; and may even discover that the new method, as understood by its promulgator, involves such fallacies and inconsistencies as defeat its satisfactory application to the solution of the social and intellectual difficulties of the present age. Such is the mode of procedure which we shall adopt, in order to afford a critical and impartial estimate of the Positive Philosophy of M. Comte.

In a former essay we discussed the general question of the certainty and limitations of human knowledge,* and indicated the position assumed by the Positive Philosophy in regard to this fundamental point. On the present occasion, accordingly, we need only repeat briefly what we then exhibited more fully, and notice the fatal and all-pervading errors which have sprung from fallacious views on this subject.

The human mind, according to the doctrine of M. Comte, recognises the impossibility of attaining to absolute knowledge, renounces all inquiry into the origin and destination of the universe and into the intimate causes of phenomena, and seeks only to discover, by a happy combination of reasoning and observation, the laws of their action; that is to say, their uniform relations of succession and resemblance. The explanation of facts, thus reduced to precise terms, becomes thenceforward the established connexion between the diverse particular phenomena and certain general facts, whose numbers diminish with the progress of science.† The statement of these general facts, in scientific language constitutes what is habitually understood by the laws of nature.

We deem M. Comte, as we said on the previous occasion, to have taken a correct view of the nature of strict science, in considering its laws as merely the theoretical colligation of phenomena, and as possessing no demonstrative truth beyond their correspondence with the facts obtained by observation, and their conformity with the consequences developed by accurate reasoning therefrom; but he errs in ignoring and cashiering everything which

* April, 1851. Art. I., Philosophy and Faith.

† Cours de Phil. Pos., leçon i, tome i, pp. 4, 5.

does not fall within the range of strict scientific demonstration. The limitation proposed by M. Comte only distinguishes scientific from unscientific knowledge; it explodes neither the existence nor the practical utility, under certain conditions, of the latter. All science, indeed, in its earlier stages had belonged to this same category of vague, undefined, unsystematized knowledge; and if the rule of the Positive Philosophy is of universal application, the existence of the grain of truth in former speculation, which has fructified into our modern science, is denied by the same negation which in our time affects to repudiate everything but that small portion of human knowledge which admits of scientific co-ordination. Every round in the long ladder of human progress by which our present advancement has been attained, would be thus proved to have been utterly rotten and nugatory, and unavailing even for those purposes which it had subserved. Yet, despite of this, we would continue to claim as valid the position to which we had ultimately arrived by their assistance. M. Comte asserts, and most justly, that the only true method of philosophical exposition must be principally historical,* and must explain, absorb, and harmonize all the previous stages of progress; but certainly the leading dogma of Positivism in regard to the conditions of human knowledge is strangely at variance with this doctrine of an historical mode of philosophy. Nevertheless, this inconsistency is by no means the sole or the principal objection to the application of M. Comte's theory to the extent contemplated by him. Its great fallacy is, that it excludes from even practical validity that great portion of human knowledge and opinion which, though not systematized into science, furnishes the sufficient and only attainable rules of our ordinary life and action, continues to supply, as it has hitherto supplied, the material for the further advancement of science itself, and affords a substitute for scientific direction in anticipation of the time when the development of science enables it to furnish more satisfactory and demonstrative prescriptions. Our life and intellect are submitted to the harmonious guidance of a self-expanding, self-expounding science, and an undefined arbiter, half-reason, half-instinct, which supplies the deficiencies of the former. This unsystematized reason is the sole guide of the untutored ages of humanity. With the advance of civilization it concedes daily more and more of its once exclusive authority to the hands of its younger, but more showy and disciplined sister; but it never entirely resigns the reins of human conduct, nor can discord be introduced between the two, or a usurped and exclusive jurisdiction conferred upon the puisné sovereign, without endangering the founda-

* Cours de Phil. Pos., leçon lviii, tome vi, p. 658.

tions of all reason, and introducing fatal schisms and inconsistencies into our whole reasoning and practice.

The ostentatious profundity of modern times, which derides as superstition all that admits not of explication by the formalism of its scientific processes, has narrowed and cramped the range of the human intellect, and palsied the play of human feeling. It has cut us off from all recognition of those vague impulses, those mystical aspirations, those prophetic instincts, and hallowed fancies, which, yielding not to the trammels of science, are sublimated by the alembic or eliminated by the calculus, but which nevertheless are calculated to sanctify and adorn our daily life and conversation, and to shed the brilliancy of a heavenly origin around the cold formalities of the world. All that is essential to redeem science from its hard and impassive narrowness—to counteract its dangerous seductions—lies beyond its horizon. Every appeal to the imagination, the affections, and the nobler principles of our being, is drawn from springs deeper than the finite plummet of human intellect has ever sounded. There can be no sympathetic comprehension of the wide universe in which we are placed, no quickening recognition of our manifold relations to it, unless we breathe a more empyrean air than that which can be compressed by the force-pump of scientific demonstration. Nay, we must travel beyond the sphere of human systems, before we can discover those eternal founts of light, which are requisite for the irradiation, the enlargement, and the elevation of science itself. How unwise then, how unworthy of our boasted intelligence, to dwarf the undefined world of human apprehension to the straitened compass of scientific truths!

We are no advocates for the wild and feverish delusions of theoretic fantasy; no rebels against the wholesome restrictions of sober reason; no architects of unsubstantial systems framed by reasoning *à priori*. All that we maintain is, that a broad line of distinction—wide as the chasm which separates Dives and Lazarus—exists, and should be recognised, between scientific conclusions and unscientific knowledge. We agree most entirely and cordially with M. Comte in our estimate of the character of the former, but we are unwilling with him to blind ourselves to the existence and importance of the latter. We would cheerfully render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's; but we think that the most essential part of the tribute remains unpaid until we render unto God the things which are God's, without attempting to absolve the human intellect from its highest and noblest functions.

It would not be difficult to show that M. Comte's position, so far as it is true—that is to say, when confined to the characterization of

scientific knowledge—had been in some degree anticipated by Lord Bacon himself, and indicated by him in a remarkable passage of his works, which probably suggested to our author the designation of the Positive Philosophy.* His great predecessor has, however, with his wonted comprehensive grasp of intellect, recognised also that distinction between knowledge capable of systematization and knowledge incapable of it, on which we have insisted; though he has left his views undeveloped. Perhaps we might go back three centuries in time, and find M. Comte's theory obscurely intimated in the great precursor and namesake of the sage of Verulam:—"Tota philosophiæ intentio non est nisi rerum naturas et proprietates evolvere."† If by "the nature of things," Roger Bacon contemplated only their phenomenal nature, this passage might have formed a suitable motto to the Cours de Philosophie Positive. And that such was his intention might perhaps be safely inferred from other remarks contained in the Opus Majus, especially from that profound observation in which he anticipates the wisdom of Lord Bacon already referred to:—

"Sed tamen omne id super quod potest intellectus noster, ut intelligat et sciat, oportet quod sit indignum respectu eorum, ad quæ in principio credenda sua debilitate obligetur, sicut sunt divinæ veritates et multa secreta naturæ et artis completis naturam, de quibus nulla ratio humana dari potest in principio; sed oportet quod per experientiam illuminationis interioris a Deo recipiat intellectum, viz., in sacris veritatibus gratiæ et gloriæ, et per experientiam sensibilem in arcanis naturæ et artis expergefactus inveniat rationem."‡

But whether it be true or not that the position of Comte was indistinctly perceived by friar Bacon, under its due limitations, there can be no doubt that he has supplied a valid criticism on its exclusive application:—

"Non est homini gloriandum de sapientia, nec debet aliquis magnificare et extollere quæ scit. Pauca enim sunt et vilia respectu eorum, quæ non intelligit sed credit, et longe pauciora respectu eorum quæ ignorat."§

We do not mean to strip M. Comte of his laurels. He looks up to Lord Bacon as the prophet, and almost as the founder of the Positive Philosophy; and whatever may have been the views of either Bacon on this subject, they certainly never designed them to be accepted in the sense in which they have been expounded by

◦ ◦ ◦ "ut doctrinam quandam positivam, et tanquam fide experimentalī." ◦ ◦ ◦
Fab. Cupid., Bacon's works, vol. xi, p. 99, ed. Montagu. The whole passage is cited Meth. Qu. Rev., vol. xxxiii, p. 198.

† Opus Majus, ps. ii, c. viii, p. 21, ed. Venet.

‡ Opus Majus, ps. i, c. x, p. 11.

§ Opus Majus, ps. i, c. x, p. 11.

Comte, nor did they anticipate him in the elaboration of an entire scheme of philosophy on this basis. Moreover, Lord Bacon, with his "*natura naturans*," his "*latens schematismus*," and such technical phrases of an antiquated metaphysical system, was far from attaining the perspicuity, the accuracy, and the precision with which this great doctrine has been enunciated by M. Comte, whose sole error consists in rendering it exclusive.

But besides the general objections, which have been just stated, there are others, springing immediately from this erroneous estimate of the nature and limitations of human knowledge, which peculiarly infect the whole scheme of the Positive Philosophy. Such, for example, is the entire negation of logic and metaphysics; such is also the absolute repudiation of all religious belief, and the substitution of the adoration of a typical humanity for all forms of divine worship. These errors flow legitimately and necessarily from the fundamental fallacy which we have noticed: the latter will be more appropriately treated when we come to speak of the tendencies of M. Comte's system; the former we will discuss in connexion with the positive *method*, which we proceed at once to consider.

If science (as indeed is true) be necessarily founded upon observation and induction, and if all reliable knowledge (which, however, is not true) be that which admits of a scientific character, then all knowledge which does not possess the characteristics specified by M. Comte as essential to its validity, must be utterly unworthy of the recognition of a disciplined philosopher, and may accordingly be cashiered by him as altogether nugatory. Such an undigested body of knowledge may indeed have formed the avenue along which the human mind has advanced to the apprehension of positive truth; it may have been the sole and indispensable support of previous ages of ignorance; but its mission is wholly ended on the appearance of the new dispensation. We may, indeed, assign to it an historical and factitious value, as indicating the line of march and the stages of advancement by which the world has arrived at its present purified intelligence; we may regard it with interest and respect as the chrysalis in which the vital germ of our present glorious science lay buried until the appointed time of its manifestation: but independently of these considerations, and considerations which spring from these, it can have no claim upon our veneration, as it has none upon our credence. In characterizing the gradual progress of human intelligence, as in estimating the value of contemporary philosophy, and determining the method to be pursued, the simple thread to guide us through the labyrinth will be found in the relation which different systems bear to the fundamental principle of the Positive

Philosophy. As this aspires only to the discovery of phenomenal laws, and proceeds entirely by sensible observation and reasoning therefrom; so that doctrine which derives its facts from an unquestioning belief in the evidence of sense and feeling, draws its certitude from an unreasoning conviction, and builds its conclusions by deduction from loosely assumed premises, is most widely antagonistic to it, and belongs to the early ages of humanity, and the ruder periods of human reason. Midway between these opposing systems is a method which cautiously examines into the premises which it receives, curiously detects and exposes the weak points of the system of faith, and then diligently attempts to close up the wounds which it has made, by instituting a theoretic reconstruction of the whole fabric of human life and knowledge, which is supposed to be valid if it does not offend against any of the theories which have been established as the *abracadabra* of the creed. This manner of reasoning is the intermediate link between the other two, and furnishes the means of transition from the blind credulity of the one to the equally blind scepticism of the other. The three systems, when arranged in their logical and chronological order, have been designated by M. Comte the theological, the metaphysical or critical, and the positive methods. The first maintains a belief in supernatural agency, seeks into the hidden nature of being, and endeavours to discover efficient and final causes; the second is only a modification of the first, and consists in substituting ideal entities for the supernatural agencies of its predecessor; and the third is such as we have already described it.*

In the above remarks we have attempted to exhibit the chain of reasoning by which M. Comte appears to have been led to the specification and adoption of the positive method. It will be observed, that the application of the names or epithets to the three successive systems is a piece of philosophical legerdemain, designed to excite prejudices for an ulterior purpose; and that the links of the deduction are by no means free from flaw; while the whole chain is dependent upon an hypothetical premiss which we have shown to be fallacious.

But further: although the reasonings of the human mind may be justly distinguished into these three classes, the distinction is valid only in regard to its progress in particular and often fragmentary branches of inquiry. In the individual intellect, as in the history of humanity, all three modes exist concurrently together, and are concurrently applied to different subjects, or different members of the same subject. We do not drive the sciences abreast—such an

* Cours de Phil. Pos., leçon i, tome i, pp. 2, 3.

idea is admissible only in the magnificent hyperbole of Fontenelle;* but the sciences themselves, and their different subdivisions, always exhibit diverse degrees of advancement, and a coexistent subordination to all of these methods. It is true, indeed, that the employment of the one or the other may so far preponderate as to give a prevailing tinge to the procedure of a system, the philosophy of a period, or the reasonings of a man. Still, such prevalence by no means indicates the exclusion of the other modes; nor is it in contravention of their validity within their own appropriate range. In the darkest infancy of civilization, so far as history or tradition can inform us, some rude arts were possessed, and consequently there must have been some exercise of positive reasoning. In the enlightenment of modern times, some entities and some supernatural powers are still recognised, although M. Comte and M. Strauss would explode them by the establishment of their own foregone conclusions. M. Comte perceives that the contemporary character of different sciences is analogous to the historical development of a particular one—that all three modes of philosophy coexist in the different conditions of distinct bodies of contemporary learning, as they have succeeded each other in the evolution of a special department of knowledge. Indeed, much of the positive method, and the whole “*Hierarchie fondamentale des Sciences Positives*,” spring from this basis. Yet, apprehending this truth, he fails to see how fatally it is at variance with the supposition of the exclusive validity of any one method. The truth is, that the various modes do not succeed each other in their systematic integrity: such succession reveals merely the course pursued in the attainment of each separate acquisition. The tendency of the human intellect is undoubtedly to render scientific all the conquests of reason which can be co-ordinated under general laws; that is to say, to bring all its information under the category of positive philosophy. In its advances towards this goal, it passes through the two other previous stages; and so far the positions of Comte are correct. The positive method is correct and exclusive so far as it is applicable, but it is not of universal application; for much of our knowledge still remains in the transition state, and may never pass beyond it, though the domain of this intermediate system must shrink up with the progress of science. But that large portion of human knowledge or conviction which, as friar Bacon says, we believe but do not understand, may continue in the unresolved nebulous form of its primitive condition,

* “Pareil en quelque sort aux anciens qui avaient l’adresse de mener jusqu’à huit chevaux attelés de front, il mena de front toutes les sciences.”—*Fontenelle Eloge de Leibnitz*. Leibn. Œuvres, vol. ii, p. 1.

and may admit of but partial conversion into either of the other states, although one has attempted to absorb and transmute it, and the other to supplant or deny it. Supposing that the scientific progress of man was complete—as complete as human faculties and a finite intelligence would permit—all knowledge would not even then be scientific or positive, but much would still remain in that vague and indistinct state, out of which all our science had been tediously evolved. Even then we should not be justified in abusing the authority of science to abjure that whole body of knowledge, without which science itself could never have been. In such an event, the intermediate philosophy might relapse into its earlier condition in part, and in the main become blended into science, and so vanish; but then, as now, our life would be regulated and illumined by the two great lights of heaven—the sun of faith to rule by day over our earthly duties and heavenward aspirations, and the moon of science to rule by night over the darkness of human reason and human achievement.

It is a vain effort to endeavour to reduce all knowledge to a single precise and unvarying form. As it is in its nature relative, both in its subjective and objective respects, both with respect to the mind which knows and the thing which is known, it must of consequence vary in a manner corresponding with the different relations which subsist between both. Hence our convictions are founded upon different kinds and degrees of evidence, which must produce a characteristic difference in the nature of the conviction itself. The principle of belief may be the same, but the certainty exists under a difference of form. The ancients, and the earlier philosophers of modern times, in their recognition of distinct species of intellectual apprehension, were wiser in the vagueness and uncertainty of their language, than the great reasoners of our own day in that attempted perspicuity which is attainable only by the sacrifice of some of the most important forms of truth. Valid objections may, indeed, be raised to the various modes in which it has been proposed to distribute human knowledge into its species. With the scholiast David, we may admit five powers or faculties of knowledge—perception, conjecture, opinion, understanding, and pure reason;* or, with Olympiodorus,† we may prefer a novenary, or with Aristotle,‡ a septenary, or with Spinoza,§ a quaternary, or with Hobbes,|| a binary

* πολλοῖς ἀναβαθμοῖς κέχρηται τις ἵνα γνῶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν· θέλει γὰρ γινώσκειν τὰς πέντε γνωστικὰς δυνάμεις· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐταὶ αἰσθησις, φαντασία, δόξα, διάνοια, καὶ νοῦς. David Prolegomena Philosophiæ, ap. Schol. Aristot., p. 14, b. 30.

† David, *ibid.*, b. 33.

‡ Eth. Nicomach., lib. vi., c. iii., p. 1139.

§ De la Réforme de l'Entendement. Œuvres, ed. Saisset, vol. ii., pp. 280, 281.

|| Ap. Morell, Crit. Hist. Phil., &c., p. 73.

division of knowledge: but whichever mode we adopt, we cannot, unless blinded by the partiality of system, fail to recognise that no single form will embrace all the specific characteristics of knowledge. To attempt, then, to restrict the sphere of human belief, and to limit the circle of valid knowledge merely to that which has attained, or is capable of attaining, a scientific or positive form, is the fallacy of mistaking a part for the whole, and is equally erroneous as to suppose, because some truths must be received by faith and are incapable of demonstration, that therefore all must be so. Both errors spring from the same defective view: the former is the error of M. Comte; the latter, that of the narrow-minded theology which generates an hostility between science and religion, by utterly denying the independent validity of scientific reasoning, and has led, as a consequence of the same fundamental sophism, to Comte's utter negation of religion itself, and his repetition of the assumption of his adversaries, that science and religion are incompatible with each other.

May it be permitted us here to remark in all humility, and without pretending to except ourselves from the censure, that these errors, and nearly all others connected with the abstruse questions regarding the foundations and characteristics of knowledge, arise from the almost hopeless incapacity of the human mind to contemplate in their coexistence and interdependence the complex multiplicity of natural phenomena, whence men are driven to seek for a delusive simplicity by a necessary exclusion of those data which refuse to be systematized, and to forget in the pride of their own labours that such exclusion has prevented the results obtained from being anything more than a partial representation and explication of the facts, and thus to mistake their imperfect systems for a complete, all-comprehending exposition. This is the great danger of scientific systems—a danger which justifies, if it did not suggest, Lord Bacon's reprehension of systematic science.

Having shown, by these general considerations, the invalidity of the exclusive claims of the Positive Philosophy, as a complete system or method of universal application, we proceed to examine more closely the characteristics of the *Positive Method* itself. The development of each individual mind being analogous to the progressive development of humanity, or the human mind in its totality,—a doctrine borrowed from Hegel, and true under certain limitations,—and the logical construction of science corresponding with its chronological improvement, a correct philosophy must rest upon a wide induction from the phenomena of human progress. Those stages, then, through which the intellect of humanity has passed, may be regarded as the

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It is a vain effort to endeavour to reduce all knowledge to a single precise and unvarying form. As it is in its nature relative, both in its subjective and objective respects, both with respect to the mind which knows and the thing which is known, it must of consequence vary in a manner corresponding with the different relations which subsist between both. Hence our convictions are founded upon different kinds and degrees of evidence, which must produce a characteristic difference in the nature of the conviction itself. The principle of belief may be the same, but the certainty exists under a difference of form. The ancients, and the earlier philosophers of modern times, in their recognition of distinct species of intellectual apprehension, were wiser in the vagueness and uncertainty of their language, than the great reasoners of our own day in that attempted perspicuity which is attainable only by the sacrifice of some of the most important forms of truth. Valid objections may, indeed, be raised to the various modes in which it has been proposed to distribute human knowledge into its species. With the scholiast David, we may admit five powers or faculties of knowledge—perception, conjecture, opinion, understanding, and pure reason;* or, with Olympiodorus,† we may prefer a novenary, or with Aristotle,‡ a septenary, or with Spinoza,§ a quaternary, or with Hobbes,|| a binary

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|| Ap. Morell, Crit. Hist. Phil., &c., p. 73.

division of knowledge: but whichever mode we adopt, we cannot, unless blinded by the partiality of system, fail to recognise that no single form will embrace all the specific characteristics of knowledge. To attempt, then, to restrict the sphere of human belief, and to limit the circle of valid knowledge merely to that which has attained, or is capable of attaining, a scientific or positive form, is the fallacy of mistaking a part for the whole, and is equally erroneous as to suppose, because some truths must be received by faith and are incapable of demonstration, that therefore all must be so. Both errors spring from the same defective view: the former is the error of M. Comte; the latter, that of the narrow-minded theology which generates an hostility between science and religion, by utterly denying the independent validity of scientific reasoning, and has led, as a consequence of the same fundamental sophism, to Comte's utter negation of religion itself, and his repetition of the assumption of his adversaries, that science and religion are incompatible with each other.

May it be permitted us here to remark in all humility, and without pretending to except ourselves from the censure, that these errors, and nearly all others connected with the abstruse questions regarding the foundations and characteristics of knowledge, arise from the almost hopeless incapacity of the human mind to contemplate in their coexistence and interdependence the complex multiplicity of natural phenomena, whence men are driven to seek for a delusive simplicity by a necessary exclusion of those data which refuse to be systematized, and to forget in the pride of their own labours that such exclusion has prevented the results obtained from being anything more than a partial representation and explication of the facts, and thus to mistake their imperfect systems for a complete, all-comprehending exposition. This is the great danger of scientific systems—a danger which justifies, if it did not suggest, Lord Bacon's reprehension of systematic science.

Having shown, by these general considerations, the invalidity of the exclusive claims of the Positive Philosophy, as a complete system or method of universal application, we proceed to examine more closely the characteristics of the Positive *Method* itself. The development of each individual mind being analogous to the progressive development of humanity, or the human mind in its totality,—a doctrine borrowed from Hegel, and true under certain limitations,—and the logical construction of science corresponding with its chronological improvement, a correct philosophy must rest upon a wide induction from the phenomena of human progress. Those stages, then, through which the intellect of humanity has passed, may be regarded as the

landmarks for determining the facts, and, consequently, the *positive* laws of philosophic advancement; and the goal towards which this progress tends, will exhibit the essential condition of a valid philosophy. In this manner M. Comte is led to the institution of the Historical Method of Philosophy, as it has been well termed by Mr. Mill; and from this method springs, by an easy and legitimate descent, that beautiful and admirable classification of the sciences, which even Mr. Morell acknowledges to be "unquestionably a masterpiece of scientific thinking, as simple as it is comprehensive."*

But the question next arises, What are the stages of historical progress? or under what general and characteristic heads may the successive conditions of the human mind, in its onward march, be appropriately classified? They are, according to M. Comte, those already discussed, and termed by him the *theological*, the *metaphysical*, and the *positive*. The whole of the fifth and nearly half of the sixth volume of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive* are devoted to the proof of the justice of this division, which is there endeavoured to be deduced from an examination of the whole stream of human story. With this Philosophy of History, admirable as it is in many respects, singularly acute, ingenious, and sagacious as it nearly always is, we shall not concern ourselves in the present essay, as it would require too much space, and too seriously interrupt the continuity of our exposition of the system. But in the classification which it is intended to support, there is so much truth mixed up with a fatal leaven of error, that, even at the risk of some delay, we must stop to estimate its value. We might object that the terms employed are metaphysical in their application; that they extend to a whole period that which is but partially characteristic of it; that they are indistinct, uncertain, and inapposite; and that they rather convey such meaning, and just so much, as the loose imaginations or the prejudices of the reader may be disposed to attribute to them, than any determinate idea. But, though much might be appropriately said upon these points, we are not disposed to avail ourselves of any arguments having the semblance of a quibble in the discussion of so important and vital a feature of the Positive Philosophy, or in the confutation of an author for whose sincerity and profundity we entertain so high an admiration as we feel for M. Comte's. We shall, therefore, endeavour to estimate the value of the ideas rather than of the terms; to show in what respect they are vague and shadowy, even as conceived by the great founder of the system; and to detect the germ of subsequent and consequential fallacies in this very obscurity.

* Crit. Hist. Phil., &c., p. 356.

M. Comte says,* that the attraction of an unlimited empire over the external world, considered as designed for man's use, and linked to his existence by intimate and continual ties; that the chimerical hopes and exaggerated ideas of the importance of man, which are incident to the earliest ages of society, give birth to theology and the theological character of all knowledge or speculation in those ages. We would deny the existence of the causes alleged, and the connexion between the assumed causes and the supposed effects. M. Comte has represented the retrospective judgment of the philosopher, looking back from the vantage ground of modern science, on the primitive condition of society, rather than the feelings of the society itself: he has learned the destiny from the event, and attributed the same knowledge as an anticipation present to those who commenced its fulfilment. The history of the early ages of humanity, and the early condition of societies, represents them as possessed by sentiments utterly at variance with these views. A crushing, despondent subjection to the unseen powers of nature; an unquestioning belief in a supernatural decree; an indisposition to look into the future, and a reckless contentment with the present; a belief in the almost hopeless inutility of human effort, and the absolute dependence of man on supernatural authority; a humiliating sense of individual insignificance—such are the characteristics of the earliest centuries of humanity of which tradition or history gives us an account. We can readily conceive how such feelings as these might generate a blind, unreasoning theology, with which they would certainly be in harmony; but we cannot, in the slightest degree, comprehend how the theological character of early times could arise out of the causes supposed by M. Comte. We admit this theological character, though we think it requires to be guarded with precision; but we think it is due to the simplicity of the rude and uninformed mind, susceptible to all the terrors and impressions of the natural world, and the unstilled murmurs of the mystic voice within, still unweaned from its divine original, which gives birth to the religious character of these times. It is the vague, undefined mystery of confused feelings, struggling to realize and embody itself in the world without, which gives rise to that low type of religion which M. Comte not inappropriately terms fetichism; for, in such ages, man humbles himself before the god whose presence he beholds in the cloud, the sunshine, or the shower, and whose anger he hears in the thunder and the tempest. The great secret, however, is that then the mind of man, and his wild untutored nature, yield themselves facile to his instinctive impulses, which have not yet learned

* *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, tome i, p. 11.

to analyze themselves, or to clothe themselves in the barren precision of metaphysical expressions. Under these circumstances, all the relations of life, all the phenomena of nature, are supposed to be under the immediate governance or agency of supernatural powers. The human mind has not yet claimed its due participation in the changes which take place around it; and every action, even the simplest, becomes connected more or less with religious observances. Religion—a blind superstition, in great measure it may be, but hardly a theology—religion thus engrosses all of human life, claiming not merely what is its due, but what awaits the development of the human mind to become legitimately dependent upon other control. When this period arrives, religion is only relieved of the superintendence of a domain which did not rightfully belong to her,—not exiled from her own: her eternal rights remain unimpaired, though some temporary usurpations she may abandon.

It will thus be observed, that what M. Comte terms the theological state, or the theological period, is that in which an unreasoning superstition absorbs the whole domain of human intelligence, and perceives the imminent agency of the divinity in every phenomenon of nature. That there is such a condition, both in the progress of society and in the development of the human mind, is indisputable; but the abuse of the religious feeling is not religion, and a blind superstition is not theology, no matter how closely or how frequently it may appear to be connected with it. Let us add here also, *en parenthèse*, that theology presupposes metaphysics,* as it is the union of religion and metaphysics, the systematization of religious creeds and doctrines by metaphysical reasoning. The important truth contained in M. Comte's view is, that the faith which is essential to religion exists in excess in that particular state or era, and is equally characteristic of all belief; and that an immediate divine agency is then employed to explain everything, even those things which in more enlightened ages are justly referred to the operation of natural laws. The vital fallacies consist in confounding religion with its aberrations; in failing to perceive that religion, in a narrower or wider sense, is characteristic of all ages, and cannot therefore be assumed as the specific difference of one; and in supposing that its restriction within due limits is a virtual demonstration of its absolute falsehood and inefficacies.

We may make nearly the same observations in regard to M. Comte's conception of the *metaphysical era*, for the fallacies

* So recognised apparently by Aristotle and the ancients. Arist. *Metaph.*, v. i, p. 1026, a. 24, and Schol. Alex. *Aphrod.* ad loc.

involved are similar. The cultivation of the reasoning faculties of man soon brings him to the recognition of intermediate links of causation; and the difficulty of grappling with the shadowy forms of undefined causes, induces him to give a name and an independent existence to these causes. Thus arises the doctrine of entities, and the whole framework of the Realistic philosophy. The habit of mind producing these results, when it pursues its logical evolution to extremes, undermines the foundations on which religious belief is supported, by hypostatizing all things, and reducing all entities, even the being of God, to the mere creations of the human intellect. Thus it constitutes the transition stage to the entire negation of all religion. But observe, that these entities do not necessarily appertain to metaphysics, but are characteristic of only one form of metaphysical philosophy—Realism. It is true, that it is with great difficulty that the passage from Realism to Conceptualism or Nominalism is effected. It is equally true, though we need not dwell upon it here, that these other forms of ontology lead, in like manner, to scepticism, when developed to their ultimate consequences. But the point to be noted is, that the characteristics which M. Comte assigns generally to metaphysics are incident to merely one form of it, and cannot therefore be assumed as the properties of the science itself. It must be further remembered, that before religion is systematized into theology, it must be moulded into that form by union with metaphysics; and it might be shown, though we may not have the time to do it on the present occasion, that even science must be fallacious unless it rests upon a correct basis of metaphysics, and recognises its dependence thereon, so that even in the Positive state the concurrent existence of metaphysics is required.

We might again repeat nearly the same observations in passing to the consideration of the Positive state; but as the Positive Philosophy is the subject of this essay, their repetition is unnecessary, and we may safely leave them to be more particularly gathered from our general criticism, which must be deferred to the next issue of this journal.

ART. II.—LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the larger Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. William Freund: with Additions and Corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, etc. By E. A. ANDREWS, LL. D. Pp. 1663. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1851.

LEXICOGRAPHY is a branch of literature of comparatively modern origin. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans had anything like dictionaries. Indeed, the terms *lexicon* and *dictionarium* are not found in the classic period of their literature. The *De Lingua Latina* of Varro, who bore the title of the "most learned of the Romans," (Cic. Acad. i, 2, 3,) is the nearest approach to a dictionary that we find. This originally consisted of twenty-four books, only six of which are extant, and these are imperfect, and injured in their value by numerous corruptions. Still the remains of this treatise are of much importance; for many terms and forms which would otherwise have been lost or have remained unintelligible are here preserved and explained. The subject of the first seven books was the origin of words and the application of terms. The plan which Varro adopted, of referring Latin words, as far as possible, to the old Italian dialects, instead of the Greek, was correct, and as applied by modern philologists has led to some very satisfactory results. But in carrying out his plan he seems to be guided by no philosophical rules, and falls into many absurd derivations. For example: *canis* is from *cano*, because dogs give signals by barking at night and in the chase, as trumpets give signals (*canunt*) in battle; and *agnus* (a lamb) is so called because it is *agnatus*, connected by birth with the sheep. Similar examples may be found on almost every page. Indeed, the Latin authors who venture into the province of etymology often suggest very improbable derivations.*

The first that can properly be called a dictionary of the Latin language was the *Catholicon* of John Balbus, of Genoa, who died 1298. This contained between seven and eight hundred folio pages, and was first printed at Mentz, 1460, by Gutenberg. Several editions of this work were published. Though it was very imperfect, and contained many errors, yet it was not without merit, especially in terms relating to theology.

Calepin, an Italian monk, prepared a Latin dictionary, which was first published at Reggio, in 1502. This edition was so full of errors as to be of comparatively little value. It passed through quite a

* Thus Cicero connects *fides* with *fit*. (De Officiis, I. 7, 23.)

number of editions, and was so much improved as to become almost a new work. We have a copy of the edition printed at Basle, 1584, before us. It is a polyglot in eight languages. The first Aldine edition of Calepin bears the date of 1542.

The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of Robert Stephens, the celebrated scholar and printer, was published in 1531. It was a work of great value. Two editions were subsequently published by the author, and in 1735 a corrected and enlarged edition was issued at London.

Facciolati, of the University of Padua, assisted by Egedio Forcellini, prepared an edition of Calepin, which was published in 1731. It was while engaged in this work that Forcellini projected a Latin lexicon on an entirely new plan; and to the preparation of the work, which bears his name in connexion with Facciolati, under whose direction it is probable that he acted in a great measure, he devoted the best energies of his life. He writes that he spent three years and a half on the letter A; and on the whole work he spent forty years. At the close of the preface he says: "By God's permission I have brought this book to an end; and now, if my life is granted to me, I shall re-read and then deliver it to another to copy." He read it a second time in two years. The copying occupied eight. Forcellini did not live to see it completed. Both the plan and execution of this work are admirable: its vocabulary is full, and it well deserves the name it bears, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*. The definitions are precise, their classification systematic and philosophical, the citations of authorities are abundant, and arranged in chronological order.

Very soon after the revival of learning, the German scholars gave their attention to Latin lexicography. In 1571 Faber's *Thesaurus Linguae Scholasticae* was published at Leipsic. This was a work of much learning, and valuable for the time of its publication. It entered largely into geography, history, and mythology, as well as peculiar idioms and unusual constructions. Gesner published an edition of this work in 1726. About twenty years later, Gesner, taking the *Thesaurus* of Robert Stephens, correcting its errors, and making many additions, produced a lexicon of great value to the student and to subsequent lexicographers. His definitions are accurate, and his authorities abundant. The vocabulary is fuller than that of Forcellini. This *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of Gesner was published at Leipsic, 1749, in four vols. folio. Scheller's *Lexicon*, which was published in 1783, was better adapted to the wants of students. The alphabetical arrangement is employed instead of the etymological. The whole work is carried out with

more than ordinary completeness of detail. It was for a long time in general use in the schools of Germany. A valuable Manual Lexicon was prepared mainly from this by Lünemann.

As we do not intend to write the history of Latin lexicography, we have omitted all notice of the labours of the English classical scholars in this department. Not that their labours were without some valuable results, but we only design in this sketch to refer to the lexicons that have furnished materials for those hitherto in use among us. Leverett's Lexicon, which has been in general use in our schools for the past fifteen years, was based on Forcellini, with additions from Scheller and Lünemann.

The publication of Freund's *Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache*, marked a new era in Latin lexicography. This work is in four volumes, the first of which appeared in 1834, and the last in 1845. As it forms the basis of the lexicon we have placed at the head of this article, we shall notice somewhat at length the plan of the work, and the general principles upon which the author proceeded in its preparation.

No one seems to have had a better idea of what a Latin lexicon should be, in the advances philology had made, than Freund; and we may safely say that no previous lexicographer possessed superior fitness for the work, or had such abundant means for carrying out his plan. Other lexicographers had gathered materials, and some had systematically arranged them; but many new facts had been developed, and the general impulse given to philological pursuits in the early part of the present century, had brought about results that demanded, to some extent, new methods in lexicography.

A complete lexicon of the language, no longer spoken, of an intellectual and highly cultivated people, must be the product of the scholarship of different ages and different nations: for the lexicographer who designs to give the full history of every word of a language, will find it demands a range of inquiry for which human life seems too short, and that it requires a combination of qualities rarely seen in any one man. To define accurately the words of any language in the terms of another, requires not only extensive reading to be able to seize the exact force of the word, but also nice discrimination to express its meaning. Often it is not possible to find terms exactly equivalent in signification: and this difficulty is felt not only in those expressions which are idiomatic, but also in such as mark the peculiar mental character of a nation. Take the word *honestum*, for example. It often has a signification that can be expressed by no one English word: for *honourableness*, *honesty*, and *virtue* are defective renderings, not giving the full meaning. It

rather denotes whatever is becoming to a man, or moral excellence. It is said, that while the Greek viewed moral excellence under the aspect of beauty, τὸ καλόν, as was natural to their taste, the more grave Roman looked at it as connected with dignity and propriety.

Freund lays down in his preface the general principles of his work. He gives his views, 1, of the *idea* and *elements* of Latin lexicography; 2, the compass of his dictionary; 3, the method of handling the several articles; and, 4, the arrangement of the articles.

The object of the lexicographer is to give the history of every word of the language. "The history of a word consists in unfolding its outer nature, that is, its form, class, syntactical connexions, and the like, together with its inner nature or meaning." Since in all cultivated languages every word has not a form peculiar to itself, but belongs to a class of words presenting similar meanings and undergoing like changes; and as it is the province of grammar to classify the forms of words and mark their changes, the lexicographer is only required to designate the class to which a word belongs. Thus, when he adds *ae* to *mensa*, he uses a convenient abbreviation which renders it unnecessary to mention the other inflections. However, when a word deviates from the regular form, that should be noticed, otherwise the external history would be incomplete. This is called the *grammatical element of lexicography*. The word *capio* will illustrate the author's method of treating this element. Thus:—"capio, cepi, captum, 3. (a very old form of the *fut. exact.* capso, Plaut. Bac. 4, 4, 61: capsit, id. Pseud. 4, 3, 6; Att. in Non. 483, 12; cf. Fest. p. 44: capsimus, Plaut. Rud. 2, 1, 15: CAPSIS, acc. to Cic. Or. 45, 154, erroneously treated by him as if contracted from cape si vis; Quint. 1, 5, 66 Spald.—Old orthog. of the *perf.* CEPET=cepit, like EXEMET, DEDET, etc., Columna Rostrata.)"

As languages of much cultivation are made up of derivatives, it belongs to the external history of the word to show from what root it is derived. This is the *etymological element*. It is no easy matter for the lexicographer to treat this element satisfactorily. Compound words, and derivatives from simpler forms of the language, are readily disposed of. But scientific etymology aims to discover the origin of these simple forms. It becomes, then, a question of great practical importance to the lexicographer, how far he shall attempt to develop this element. The early etymologists seem to have no definite rules of procedure, and refer the words of one language to another most arbitrarily, from some resemblance in sound and signification.* But a more philosophical spirit pervades

* In Minshen's "Guide to the Tongues," ed. 1617, tallow is derived from *tollo*, to take away, because it is taken away from the flesh!

the new system; and the philologist, instead of accumulating hundreds of vocabularies to compare together, sits down to investigate thoroughly the whole structure of a single family of languages.

It was once common to refer, as far as possible, all Latin forms to the Greek. But later and more extensive researches showed that the Sanscrit was a language of high antiquity, and capable of explaining many Latin forms far better than the Greek. And yet the question of the Sanscrit origin of the Latin is by no means settled, for there are advocates for its Teutonic or German origin. Hence Freund thought he might be "called over-hasty if he allowed the Sanscrit or the German element to have the predominance." The course he adopts seems to be the only practical one.

The internal history of a word consists in giving its meaning. This is the *exegetical*, and the most important element of lexicography. Freund lays it down as a settled principle, that among the several meanings of a word, the one which has been obtained from its etymology should be assumed as the original. This has not, however, been generally acted upon by Latin lexicographers; for they prepared their lexicons generally for the study of works of a particular period of the language, and therefore gave prominence to that signification of a word in which it was most frequently used. They paid hardly any attention to the remains of old Latin—to the fragments of the Twelve Tables, the remains of Ennius, Pacuvius, and Cato; and comparatively little to the Latinity of Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, and Varro. Their sources of authority for the significations of words went back only to Cicero and Cæsar. Freund, on the contrary, introduces the oldest remains of Latin literature from the *Leges Regiæ*, the Laws of the Twelve Tables, down to Lucretius and Varro.

A second principle adopted is, that in the order of meanings the proper meaning, as the original, should precede the tropical, as the derived. In order to make clear distinctions it is also necessary to make subdivisions of the tropical meanings. An example will most readily illustrate this. *Arena* is used in four different senses in the following passages:—(1.) *Magnus congestus arenæ*, *Lucr.* 6, 724; (2.) *Missum in arenam aprum jaculis desuper petiit*, *Suet. Tib.*, 72; (3.) *Vectio Prisco, quantum plurimum potuero, præstabo præsertim in arena mea, hoc est apud Centumviros*, *Plin. Ep.* 6, 12, 2; (4.) *Quid facies, Oenone? Quid arenæ semina mandas?* *Ov. Her.* 5, 115. In the first passage it means *sand*, in the second the *amphitheatre*, in the third the *sphere of one's calling*, and in the fourth is a proverbial expression for something *unfruitful*. If these meanings were classed under the head of literal and tropical,

as the terms have hitherto been applied by lexicographers, we should have one literal and three tropical, thus: (1.) lit., *sand*; (2.) trop., (a) the amphitheatre, (b) the sphere of one's calling, (c) proverb., for something unfruitful.

Such an arrangement is clearly unphilosophical: for the meaning, *the sphere of one's calling*, is evidently derived from that of the *amphitheatre*; hence it is not co-ordinate with it, but subordinate, constituting a trope within a trope. In the second place, the derived meaning *amphitheatre* "has quite another relation to the simple one *sand*, from that of *one's sphere* to *amphitheatre*." In the first instance, the general notion, *sand*, is individualized into a certain sandy place, sandy path, &c.; but it is not taken out of the class of concretes. In the second instance, the concrete notion of *amphitheatre* is changed to the abstract one of a place of contest or exercise, sphere of vocation. This distinction between individualizing a general notion and spiritualizing a physical one, Freund considered to be of too much importance to be lost sight of in lexicography. He has therefore given to the signification arising in the former way the name of metonymic; to the latter that of tropical. With this distinction the first three senses of *arena* may be classed thus: (1.) lit., *sand*; (2.) metonym., the place of contest in the amphitheatre bestrewed with sand. Therefore (b) tropic., every place of contest, place of exhibiting any kind of activity, place of exercise, &c. And so *arbor*, used for *navis*, is a metonymy, since the physical meaning is individualized; while *calor* for *amor* is a trope, since the physical meaning passes into an abstract and spiritual one. The proverbial use of words is placed under the literal signification, for in classifying proverbial expressions lexicography and rhetoric must be guided by different rules. As the rhetorician takes into view the sense of the whole expression, he classes it with the tropical use of language. On the other hand, the lexicographer, having to deal with the single word, finds nothing in it to remove it from the sphere of the literal. Thus *arena*, in the proverbial expression *arenæ semina mandare*, has received no signification foreign to its literal meaning, as it has in the phrase *præstabo in mea arena*. In the latter instance *mea arena* cannot mean my sand, while *arenæ semina mandare* always means to commit seed to the sand.

In order to make the origin of some significations clear, Freund compares the usage of other languages. This is a department of lexicography that requires to be most judiciously handled; and in different methods in different languages. In a language whose literary monuments are few, some words may occur so seldom that the lexicographer cannot satisfy himself as to their true import without

reference to cognate languages. Gesenius, in his Hebrew Thesaurus, has pursued this course with most satisfactory results. We do not now allude to the comparison of corresponding forms, but to the illustration of words by the analogy of signification. This comparison is not to be confined to cognate dialects, for languages of a different class often furnish striking analogies. Thus אֵינֶיךָ, diminutive of אִישׁ (man), is used with עֵינַי (eye), to denote the pupil, the apple of the eye, literally *the little man of the eye*. The Arabic, the Persian, and several other languages use equivalent terms. And somewhat analogous is the Latin *pupilla*, a diminutive of pupa, (a girl,) in its literal sense used to denote an orphan girl or ward, in its transferred, the pupil of the eye. Freund does not give this illustration, but he has a number like it. Thus Calendæ, (from *calo*, to call,) in the sense of proclamation-day, is compared with the Hebrew usage of קָרָא בְּקָרָא; and the syntactical construction of *cavere*, even to the unusual form *cavere cum aliquo*, is illustrated by the analogous use of the Niphal of נָחַר.

In some instances erroneous explanations have been corrected as the result of such comparisons. For example: *bidens*, as applied to a sheep fit for sacrifice, has been referred to *bis* and *annus*. Thus Facciolati, under this word, says: "Primo bidennis, *d* littera immissa quasi biennis a *bis* et *annus*." He also gives another view of its derivation, as if from *bis* and *dens*, and sustains its application to a sheep fit for sacrifice, by a passage from Higinus in Aulus Gellius (16, 6): "*Bidentes* hostiæ quæ per ætatem duos dentes altiores habent." Freund, however, says it is more correct to understand by *bidens* an animal for offering, whose *two rows* of teeth are complete, as נֶחֱשׁ, *tooth*, in the dual denotes the two rows of teeth. Many other analogies are noticed which are interesting to the scholar, not as pointing to a common origin of languages, but as showing that the human intellect, in unfolding identical notions, falls into parallel expressions, even in languages most diverse in their structure. If the student will compare the various meanings of *cornu* with קֶרֶן, *vertex*, (from *verto*,) as applied to the top or crown of the head, with תִּקְדָּה, (from תָּקַד,) and the expression *ferire fœdus* with בָּרַח בְּרִית, he will be struck with the fact, that in the diversity of language there is a certain unity in the operations of the human mind.

We consider the special attention which Freund bestows upon the historical development of the Latin language as one of the prominent excellencies of his lexicon. The Latin was not gradually and systematically unfolded from a single germ, as seems to have been the history of the Greek. The different tribes of Italy originally

used dialects doubtless having a common origin : and as Rome successively conquered these different Italian tribes, there would naturally be a gradual combination of these elements, the various dialects modifying the common language of Rome. After the Roman conquests in Southern Italy had made them acquainted with the Grecian arts and literature, the language received still greater modifications. Not only may we suppose that many words were borrowed from the Greek, but a new impulse being given to the cultivation of letters, the Latin tongue began to develop more symmetrically, and to be more carefully guarded from corruption. The results of this were not few nor unimportant. The language of the capital became the standard, to which every educated man must refer. The general principles of the language became settled, anomalies were no longer prevalent, and the foreign elements were united into a consistent whole.

In the time of Cicero the Latin language had reached a high state of cultivation : and to Cicero, more than to any other one writer, it is indebted for its copiousness. He brought into use many words of the old poets, that had become almost obsolete, and coined new words after the analogy of the Greek. Yet, while he increased the vocabulary of the language by a number of abstract and philosophical terms, he jealously guarded its idiomatic structure and opposed unnecessary innovations. Though in his philosophical works he was often obliged to have recourse to the Greek, from the paucity of abstract terms in his own tongue, yet the construction of his sentences is purely idiomatic, and very few Græcisms occur in his writings. His style is remarkable for its clearness ; and in his effort to secure this there is often a redundancy of expression, very different from the studied conciseness and pregnant brevity of Tacitus. But we ought to bear in mind that Cicero was writing upon philosophical subjects that were comparatively new to his countrymen, and that his perspicuity was carefully studied to avoid obscurity. He found that many of the views of the Greek philosophers could be expressed only by circumlocutions—that his own tongue was poor in philosophical and scientific terms. Even a century later, after the Romans had given more attention to philosophy, Seneca says, “I have never felt more sensibly than now the great indigence, or rather the abject poverty of our language. When we speak of the doctrines of Plato, a thousand ideas present themselves for which we have no name.” So that what has been called the diffuseness or too extended amplification of Cicero’s style, was a necessary result of the character of the language, and of the state of philosophical studies among his countrymen.

We attach much importance to the influence of Cicero in developing the resources and perfecting the structure of his native tongue, but we must consider it as reaching its highest point of cultivation in the reign of Augustus. The civil commotions that had preceded this period were far from being favourable to the general cultivation of letters. The camp and the forum were the fields that called for the efforts of the noblest intellects. But a change in the structure of the government produced great effects in literature. After the downfall of the republic, the administration of public affairs being entirely in the hands of the emperor and his creatures, men of genius, whose ambition in preceding times would have led them to seek for the high offices of state, devoted themselves to the pursuit of letters. This was the age of the first among the Latin poets, Horace and Virgil, when purity of diction and elegance of expression were especially sought for, and the Latin tongue, while it was free from the rigidity of its early forms, had not yet degenerated into the turgid and declamatory style prevalent in its decay.

Freund arranges the Latin authors into the following periods :—
 1. Ante-classical, extending from the oldest fragments to Lucretius and Varro. 2. Classical, from Cicero and Cæsar to Tacitus, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny, inclusive. 3. Post-classical, embracing the writers from the last period to the fifth century. Classical Latinity is also subdivided into (a) the Ciceronian, (b) the Augustan, and (c) the post-Augustan. The post-classical, notwithstanding the length of its period and the difference of its character during the progress of the decay of the language, is not subdivided. Only the term, "late Latin," is given to the language of the fourth and fifth centuries. According to this arrangement, every word—and, if its different meanings belong to different periods, each meaning—has appended to it the general remark *in all periods*, or the special one, *ante-classical, Ciceronian, Augustan, post-Augustan, post-classical, late Latin*. As it sometimes happens that words and significations current in one period have been disused in the next, and then employed again in the succeeding,* the terms ante and post-classical, ante-classical and post-Augustan, are attached to the signification of a word. An examination of almost any word will show with what fidelity and patience Freund has developed this element of lexicography.

And equally careful attention is bestowed upon the *rhetorical element*. The kind of composition in which a word is used is stated, whether in prose and poetry, only in prose or poetical, in the poets or in the higher kinds of prose, peculiar to the comic poets or

* Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque

Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus.—Hor. Ars. Poet.

to the epistolary style. In no other lexicon have the technical terms of the language been so clearly marked. And this is a matter of especial importance in the Latin, for one of its most striking peculiarities is the prevailing use of concrete forms. The Roman mind was eminently practical, and the Latin is better adapted to represent objects of perception than impressions and emotions. As we have already said, there are but few abstract terms. Seneca complains that he can find no equivalent in Latin for the $\tau\omicron\ \delta\upsilon$ of the Greeks.

In the best productions of Roman literature we find many terms of art taken from the temple, the tribunal, and the camp, which have transferred their significations to other relations of life. As Freund says, "Many Latin words take a circular path in the historical progress of their meanings. From common, every-day life, they pass over into a definite practical sphere, and after almost losing their identity by means of the secondary notions attached to them, are taken up again by common life, and employed in quite another than their original import. Thus the word *arbiter* denotes, etymologically, an eye-witness. Together with this signification, which was in use in all periods and in all kinds of style, it obtained in the language of the law, even as early as the Twelve Tables, that of an *umpire*: from this legal sphere the poetry of the Augustan age adopted it in the sense of a *commander* or *master*, and imparted it in this sense to the post-Augustan prose."

The frequency or rareness of the use of a word is denoted by the terms, "*very frequent*," "*frequent*," "*rare*." This, which Freund calls the *statistic* element, can of course only reach approximate certainty; but in such words as we have had occasion to examine with this in view, we have been struck with the discriminating accuracy of the author. Words which occur only once, or which are used only once in a particular signification, or by a particular author, are specially designated. Of course it is hardly possible to decide in every instance with confidence.

In the arrangement of the articles of a lexicon different methods are pursued: some lexicographers, as Gesner and Stephens, adopting the etymological, and others the alphabetical. Freund follows the latter method, with only such deviations as the grammatical and exegetical element demand.

It only remains for us to notice how far the work we have placed at the head of this article, which purports to be "founded on the Larger Latin-German Lexicon of Freund," represents the results of his labours. At first sight it seems hardly possible that all of real value to the student in the four volumes of Freund, con-

taining about four thousand five hundred pages, could be comprised in the single octavo of the American edition. The real difference in amount of matter is not so great as the apparent, the German being printed in a very open type. Nor is there any systematic deviation from Freund's method. Indeed, in some particulars his plan is more fully carried out. All the definitions and philological remarks are retained, together with the references to Latin authors. The examples cited are retrenched by dispensing with such parts as did not tend to illustrate the particular signification for which the citation was introduced. Some citations of minor importance are wholly omitted. But in every case, both of omission and retrenchment, the full reference to the original Latin author has been retained; so that the student can readily refer to the author for the particular use of the word, and for the connexion in which it occurs.

It seems to have been the design of the translators not merely to give an English rendering of the German definitions, but to adapt them to the peculiar genius of our language, so as to furnish the student with idiomatic renderings of the Latin terms. One who is constantly using this lexicon will see how successfully this has been accomplished. In accuracy of definition and clearness in expressing the nice shades of meaning, which are among the peculiar excellencies of Freund, the American edition can be favourably compared with the original. In the treatment of the particles, Freund is confessedly superior to any preceding lexicographer. He most fully elucidates their various shades of meaning, and especially notes the force of the prepositions that enter into the composition of words. And these excellencies we find reproduced in the work before us.

But Freund is not faultless. He retains, in some instances, old and erroneous definitions, and in others admits new and incorrect ones—the result of too hasty conclusions. The editors have aimed to correct such defects, and have, we believe, generally succeeded. To do this it was found necessary, in some instances, to entirely remodel an article. We should have been glad if they had allowed themselves more latitude in supplying deficiencies in the original work. We have found some judicious additions, and we think the number might have been increased. Thus, among the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα might be placed *lureo*, a conjectural reading of Heinsius, in Hercules Furens of Seneca.* This reading is adopted by Bothe and also by Beck. That such a verb as *lureo* was once in use, seems probable from analogy. The adjective *luridus*, and the noun *luror*, appear, which could be referred to *lureo*, just as *lucidus*, *liquidus*, *lividus*, *timidus*

* Concavæ *lurent* genæ, 767 v. The common reading is *lucent*.

have the verbal roots, *luceo, liqueo, liveo, timeo*. That it is found only in this instance, need not be a reason for rejecting it. According to Dillenburger, there are seventeen ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Horace. We do not find *reliceor*, although it occurs in one MS. copy of *De Officiis* (3, 15): *contra reliceatur*. As this reading is adopted by Zumpt and Bonnel, it is entitled to some consideration. Under *profugio*, the signification, *to flee from or before, to flee, to fly from anything*, is marked *post-Augustan*. But Cicero, in his oration *Pro Sextio*, (22, 50,) has *vim profugisset*. It is also said that *timeo* is not used with an object-clause by Cicero; but in his oration *Pro Roscio* (1, 4) we find *quo nomen referre in tabulis timeat*.* There are some other articles that are not as full in their treatment as we could wish: among them are *albico, copulatus exculco*, and *refragor*. But in a work of such a character, embracing so many thousand articles, we must expect to find some omissions.

As we have made almost daily use of this work since its publication, we are prepared to appreciate its excellencies. The thanks of scholars are due to the pains-taking editors who have so faithfully reproduced the merits of the German edition, and to the publishers who have issued the work in a form at once elegant and substantial.

ART. III.—DANTE.

1. *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri con Spiegazioni tratte dai Migliori Commentarii e colla Vita di Dante*. DA GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. 1844.
2. *The Vision; or, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante Alighieri*. Translated by Rev. HENRY FRANCIS CARY. Illustrated by designs by John Flaxman, R. A. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

SELDOM has a work gone through more editions in its native tongue than Dante's *Divina Commedia*; and our French publishers have, from the best of these—viz., the La Minerva, (Padua, 1822;) that of Ciardetti, (Florence, 1830;) and that of Nicolini and Bezzuoli, (Florence, 1840)—produced, by critical collation, an edition superior to any of them,—certainly the best specimen of the Italian classics within the range of our acquaintance.

Two translations of the *Commedia* have appeared in English. One, by J. A. Carlyle, a brother of the well-known essayist and historian, has been put forth in England, and immediately republished in this country. It is a respectable work, and had no other been

* Dr. Siedhof, Bib. Sac., Aug., 1847.

known, or had an inferior one preceded it, doubtless it would have received a high place among our translations of foreign authors. But it does not give us DANTE, and on this ground we lay it aside.

Cary's translation has been the work of his life. In 1797 he was at his task, and seventeen years rolled away before he completed it. The edition then published was small, and its readers were few. Some of them, with Coleridge at their head, called for another edition, which appeared in 1819; a third was issued in 1831; and in 1844 the present one was published. The translator, now grown gray in service at the library of the British Museum, has enriched this edition with the fruits of a life of study. Aided by such men as Thomas Carlyle and Darley, he has criticised his own suggestions, and reviewed and passed mature sentence on his former opinions. He evidently looks to this work as the monument of his reputation: and not without reason. The student, however versed in modern Italian, finds it no easy task to render Dante even in tolerable English prose; but Cary has executed the work in blank verse with a vigour and fidelity to which no other version in a modern tongue can pretend. The labour has, indeed, been to him a continual feast. "He has felt his individual recollections suspended, and, as it were, lulled to sleep amid the music of nobler thoughts." Conscious of his proud office in introducing to his countrymen the great Italian epic, he looks for his own reward in being named when Dante shall be admired by Englishmen. And such a reward he has most unquestionably earned.

No book, since the revival of letters, has received more attention than the "Vision" of Dante. It is indeed no wonder that the world pays good heed to its epics, for they form the noblest department of its literature. Of all artists in other forms—orators, moralists, historians, nay, even of poets, lyric, tragic, or miscellaneous—we may say, to use Dante's own expression, that they are all in the outer circles of art. The inner parts are more thinly peopled, candidates for entrance there being rare as the slowly-recurring epochs of entire social revolutions. We count but four as having, in the course of literature, risen to the first class of epic poets—Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton. Nor are we too exclusive. It is impossible for us here to discuss the individual pretensions of the crowds of fine poets who may apply for admission. Klopstock is a candidate for the place; but, besides that the detail of the "Messiah" is too tedious for any but German patience, the very conception of it is faulty. The story of the cross admits no burnishing from art, nor can men of letters improve what inspiration has pronounced sufficient. Camoens, with his many beauties, is too often servile. Such power as appears in many parts

of the *Lusiad* should never have been bent to minister to the crude taste of Portuguese or even of European society of his time. The true epic poet feels himself secure of approbation, because he has reached its permanent source in the depths of human nature. Confident that hence a stream of praise must sooner or later flow, he awaits quietly his time, seeking no adventitious fame, nor condescending to pander for present popularity. For his failure here, we condemn the author of the *Lusiad*. Ariosto is perpetually trifling; Tasso is deficient in character.

In the true epic rank, then, we place but four. The *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, the *Vision*, and *Paradise Lost*, exhaust our catalogue. And this scarcity is unavoidable. To the epic poet must belong a mind of such endowments as are not often allotted to man, and the spirit of the age must be fitted to stimulate such a mind to its utmost. When these conditions exist together, there may be an epic: the former without the latter may produce excellent poetry, indeed, but not of this highest rank. Homer's inspiration was the universal idea of his age—gods and demi-gods mingling with men in human form, and with household language; Virgil was moved to song by the sublime spectacle of the world resting in solemn slumber on the arm of a *Cæsar*; Dante touched his harp when life and order were emerging from the social chaos of deluged Christendom; and Milton arose when liberty was gilding earth's hilltops with its new-born radiance. Each found inspiration in his time.

The epic, therefore, becomes a key to its age. In modern science, the comparative anatomist takes from the rock a fossil, and determines the frame of which it is a relic. He goes farther, and from this as a type, he depicts the forms and habits of contemporary monsters, peopling with corresponding natures the primeval landscape. So from the true epic the critic reads the entire character of society at the time when it was produced—its laws and institutions, its progress in refinement, the manners and thoughts of public and private life. What copious schemes of history have been filled out to fit the framework of Homer's historical allusions! True, we may, through his medium, sometimes see things obscurely—"men as trees walking"—but without him all the period now partially enlivened, would be an unpeopled desert, wrapped in a gloom as profound as covers the kings before Agamemnon.

Epic poetry has another characteristic. It combines nearly every other style of composition. Other poetry exhibits one form, this all the forms of feeling. The epic poet must glow in description, must melt in love, must sting in sarcasm. He must reason, declaim, and criticise. Other writings may give a single picture of life—the epic

must furnish a gallery. Is it strange that such talent as it requires is rare—that to the honours of its first rank but four are really admitted?

In turning our attention especially to the great author before us, we must first glance at the spirit and history of his time.

When the northern deluge prostrated and overwhelmed the Roman Empire in the West, one part of it, the municipal towns, appeared to offer substantial resistance to its fury. The hordes might sweep and pillage them, but their pent-up walls offered to barbarians no inducement to a permanent residence. They had too recently been the denizens of wide plains and forests, to relish the confinement or the pursuits of the towns. If, then, these were plundered, the frightened inhabitants soon returned, and their industry repaired the devastation. Clustering around the ruins, they plied the arts or practised commerce, until, by degrees, their streets were rebuilt, their walls restored, their prosperity re-established. But these towns gradually became not only the seats of opulence, but of patriotism and refinement, and the meanest burgher felt something of the aggregate dignity of his city. A spirit of life and enterprise, which afterwards led to voyages of distant commerce and discovery, pervaded all ranks.

It was beyond their limits that the *dark ages* were in reality found. There the feudal landholders, the descendants of the conquerors, lived in gloomy seclusion within their fortresses. At the foot of the castles were the villages of the serfs, the humble tillers of the soil; and often in the same picture might be seen some convent, to which the chieftain gave patronage, in return for the keeping of his conscience, and the absolution of his sins. These barons were absolute despots, and their power was supreme up to the limits of the towns. Clad in steel, they could ride with impunity over the ranks of the burghers; holding the soil, they could cut off their supplies, and keep them hemmed within their gates. The towns, at first, as might be expected of a weaker party, sought alliances with the landed nobility.

In the progress of events, however, the scale began to turn. Commercial wealth outweighed lands and castles, and freemen proved superior to vassals. If the cities furnished no lances of their own, adventurers from the north were glad to enter their service. Situated happily for trade, they accumulated what has been, in every age, "the sinews of war." Now the nobility became the party out of power, the ones to sue for alliances, and offer concessions; and so plain was this, that at one time, in the middle of the eleventh century, there could be found, of the Italian nobility, only the Marquis of Montferrat, who had not submitted to some town, his rival.

The inhabitants of these cities had liberal views of the arts, and honoured the success of artists. They were vigilant, enterprising, skilful in business, patrons of letters, lovers of liberty, and jealous of its infringement. Here their good qualities terminate, and the reverse of the picture is gloomy. The student will recognise, in the history of these cities, that of Greece previous to Philip; for, though the lapse of centuries and the waves of the Adriatic separate the theatres, and the Italian actors are less illustrious than the Grecian, yet the tragedy throughout is the same. Hatred, jealousy, and atrocious revenge, are the ingredients of every character. Feuds, springing often from false or trifling causes, revolve within feuds, and faction subdivides factions, the small and great being alike implacable. Does one city triumph over its weaker neighbour? The latter is perhaps razed, and its inhabitants reduced to a state little short of helotism. So Milan treated Lodi in 1111. Does a sedition prevail in a city? Its adversaries are put to death or banished—having lost their property—to nurse their wrath and await their time of vengeance. Are the parties of equal strength? They waste each other in a struggle of irreconcilable animosity.

Such was the state of Italy from the tenth to the fourteenth century. The great parties were the Guelphs and Ghibellines—the adherents, respectively, of the Church and the Emperor. The Guelphs were the natural Italian party; but many opposed the claims of the pope, and many more loved the protection of the German crown. From these causes, the Ghibellines gained adherents in every city—in some, even the majority. The Guelphs were torn with dissensions, and the enmity of the black and white Guelphs was as merciless as that between both and the Ghibellines.

Before leaving the politics of Italy, which we have traced thus far, in order to make Dante's fortunes intelligible, we may glance at the peculiar character of the Italian patriotism. Each man gave his whole heart to his city, while, perhaps, half of its people were his deadly enemies. The sound of its name awoke in him, at once, the keenest emotions of tenderness and vengeance. Thus Dante sheds a patriot's tear at the sound of "*la bella Firenze*," while vengeance clouds his spirit, even in the depths of eternal light, as his thoughts rest for a moment on her citizens. We may see, too, why this land is,

"Conquered or conquering, still alike a slave."

And, indeed, if Italy is, in our day, to be free from both the triple and the iron crown, she must first become—what for more than a thousand years she has not been—a unit.

The last scholar of the ancient world was Boethius. At his death, beneath the relentless hand of Theodoric, though he were not to be ranked with those who had preceded him, we date the extinction of literature; for henceforth the language of Cicero and of classical learning were silenced. The northern hordes despised what they had neither leisure nor inclination to acquire. The clergy, by their prejudice against profane literature, completed its overthrow; the monks alone, with humble industry, collected and hoarded its ruins. Learning had sunk to reappear; but what prophet could have foretold the place of its rising? Not on Greece or Italy, but on the Ultima Thule of its former territory, did it throw the early beams of its second dawn.

The monasteries of Ireland, even before the end of the sixth century, drew students from the continent, and sent teachers thither. Under the care of Theodore, the first primate of England, learning flourished. Bede and Alcuin soon after did it essential service: the latter, passing over to the continent, contributed effectually to its establishment in the empire of Charlemagne. Aristotle and the scholastic philosophy gradually gained the attention of ecclesiastics. Meanwhile, from the fertilizing dust of perished literature, there was springing in the south a new species of composition. Provence led the way in developing the poetical capacities of a native dialect; France, Castile, and Italy followed.

This employment of vernaculars is an era in literary annals. The Provençal dates from William Duke of Brienne, in 1096; the Spanish, from the Cid, in 1150; the Italian, from Dante, in 1304. These are the leading dialects of the Latin, derived from it mainly by marking oblique cases with particles rather than endings, by modifying *ille* and *unus* into articles, and by dropping or making silent the verbal terminations. Two of these dialects, it will be noticed, containing as yet no literature but poetry, had appeared when Dante arose. Even he, at first, reluctantly attempted the creation of a language for his use, since few Tuscans had thought of such a thing as possible. Happily, however, he laid on a master's hand, and fixed the sweetly noble dialect of Florence. His workmanship was often rough, and many of his words have since been discarded from the language; but it was effective, and its best monument is the *lingua Toscana*.

Much obscurity hangs over the life of our poet. Boccaccio, who lived near his time, is the worst of biographers; giving rhapsodies for facts, and for incidents, epigrammatical comments on his own conceits. Other writers, Aretino and Vullutello, have done better.

There was a brave knight of Florence, who fought under Conrad III., and perished in the holy wars. This knight, Cacciaguida, hav-

ing married one of the noble family of the Alighieri, his descendants adopted their maternal as their family name. The name Dante, generally supposed to be an abbreviation of Durante, Boccaccio claims to have been conferred by a special providence; inasmuch as its possessor was to be "*di maravigliosa dottrina datore*"—a punning fancy that fairly represents its author. Dante was born in Florence, in May, 1265. Every burgher of the Italian cities was a soldier, and Dante was early inured with his fellows to every military exercise. His first literary preceptor, Brunetto Latini, was a man of reputation and of real acquirements for his time. By him Dante was initiated into all the learning then in vogue. Brunetto was a "greedy-tempered" man, for which he was afterwards assigned by his scholar to a place in hell, whence he dispenses to his pupil, *en passant*, much wholesome advice, which his own example pointedly enforces.

Very little is definitely known of our poet's history until after his twenty-fourth year. He appears to have studied with great credit in some of the universities of Italy; and it is claimed that he visited Paris, and even Oxford. One thing all allow, that he lost his juvenile heart at the tender age of nine years. His Beatrice, afterwards his guide through Paradise, was the daughter of Folco Portinari, a respectable citizen of Florence, and at the time of her conquest had not passed her own eighth year. Dante, as might be expected, now grew poetical. Boccaccio says that no one ever enacted the part of a lover better than he. His canzonets were touching and appropriate; his raptures at her smiles, his tearful sighings at her cloudiness or absence, were "*onestissimi*." But, alas! the halcyon days of human life are ever few! As our poet approached his twenty-fourth year, his "*donna eccellentissima*" died. Copious was his grief, and even his life was endangered by its depth and continuance. This sad event coloured the whole subsequent career of Dante. His dreams for this life were ended; the susceptible boy and ardent lover is known henceforth as the deep-feeling, melancholy, unforgiving man.

He next appears as a soldier. At the battle of Campaldino, where the Guelphs with the Florentines, defeated the Ghibellines with the Aretini, he took a fearless part. In the next year he was with his countrymen in an engagement near Pisa, when they took from the Pisans the castle of Caprona.

Grief for Beatrice still weighing heavily upon him, his friends urged a marriage with a member of a family who were afterwards his most bitter political opponents. It was a matter of expediency; the lady of their choice had no place in Dante's heart. Some, at a loss to account for this, have tried to paint her as a Xanthippe.

This is wrong. She did not—probably no one could have done it—fill the place of the lost Beatrice; but she was a tender, faithful wife. She withstood the influence of her family, and was true to her husband in all his fortunes. She managed to rear, and even educate respectably, her children on the most limited means. Must so devoted a woman be accounted a savage in temper, to explain why her husband felt not for her the ardour of *first* love? If there be fault anywhere, it is his. What he says of her is, indeed, equivocal; yet, for a hundred years after, no one speaks of her as harsh or violent.

In 1300, Dante was made chief of the Priors, then the ruling party at Florence. The black Guelphs having triumphed over the white, who were, in secret, Ghibellines, the latter, with Dante, who had been suspected of favouring them in his administration, were banished from the city. From this hour he was a man of sorrows, an exile, and a wanderer. An attempt, on the part of the exiles, to restore themselves by force, failed, and Dante went to Verona, where he spent some years under the protection of the munificent Can Grande. Dependence was a cruel thing to his spirit. It mortified him to "climb the stairs of other men;" their "salt" was "bitter" to his taste. He strove again to obtain by entreaty what he could not get by force; and even took the desperate resolution of renouncing the Guelphs, and joining the Ghibellines under Henry of Luxembourg, hoping thereby to return to Florence. Every effort was vain. On leaving Verona, he wandered from one city to another, until a proposal for return was made to him by the Florentines, on the condition of a confession of ignominy and the payment of a heavy fine. Any offer, on such terms, he proudly rejected. He saw his rising fame. He declared that he would one day return

"In other guise, and standing up
At his baptismal font, should claim the wreath
Due to the poet's temples."

Bright visions of his future reputation now reconciled him to even an exile's lot. His last sojourn with Guido Novella di Polenta was his happiest one; for his patron was himself a poet, and could sympathize with another.

But his career drew to a close; and in July, 1321, the sorrows of his exile, and the gratulations of his fame, were hushed in death. Guido honoured his remains with a magnificent funeral. And now the Athenians of Florence awoke to the value of what they had so wantonly lost. More than once have their posterity petitioned for the ashes of their banished poet; but these, for more than five hundred years, have rested in their costly sepulchre at Ravenna, while

a cenotaph is the boast of ungrateful, too late repentant Florence.

In the summer of 1840, as workmen were removing a part of the ancient chapel of the Podesta, now long used by the Florentines as their city prison, a portrait was discovered in the plaster, purporting to be that of Dante. It might have been identified from Boccaccio's description. It represents a man of middle stature and solemn deportment; the eyes large and dark, the cheek bones prominent, and the beard black and curly. The original of the portrait was a man of few words, of inelastic temper, given less to mirth than to melancholy, often sarcastic, but always plain and prudent.

In reviewing the intellectual character of Dante, we cannot but wonder at his immense erudition. The treasures of classical learning, the philosophy of Aristotle and the schools, and the literature of the Church, were his own property. Towards whatever point he directs his attention, the resources of his mind, well marshalled and brought to bear, make his sweep irresistible. From the dim illumination which truth cast upon his age, it was not to be expected that he would always shun errors; and to judge him by the light of *our* day, would be uncandid. Suffice it that he was very far in advance of his contemporaries, as well as of his predecessors. His delighted countrymen almost regarded him as one of the "old prophets risen again;" and his titles, "*Il Divino*," "*Il Teologo*," testify their reverence. "It was as if, at one of the ancient games, a stranger had appeared upon the plain, and thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts, which tradition had ascribed to the demi-gods."

His moral character, also, must be judged with charitable reference to his time. He was a Catholic, and saw in the Church, which, with all its errors, then commanded almost universal acquiescence, the direct institution of Christ and his apostles. He believed that the spiritual authority of fathers and councils gave to its figments the sanction of inspiration. Deeply impressed that much in the Church was utterly wrong, he, with a true Romish discrimination, absolves *her*, and arraigns her administrators. He distributes popes and prelates freely along the gulfs and sounds of perdition, and inveighs against them with all the truthfulness and intense energy of a reformer; but spares the most abusive, as well as the most trivial, usages of the Church. Yet such has been the inconsistency of many good and earnest men, and such was for a while that of Luther. We may regret that such power as Dante displays was not exerted against the whole scheme of papal error; while we must grant that he did well, where he had no predecessor, in rebuking what he judged to be within the scope of human disapproval.

In private life his manners were pure, and, if we except his unfor-
giving sternness, in harmony with religion. How much of this single
unpleasing trait must be pardoned, in view of an inveterate national
constitution and habit, and how much may be resolved into a rea-
sonable resentment, we dare not say. We can find but one act of
his life,—his adoption of the Ghibellines,—over which it was suf-
fered to cast a shade of dishonour. In his great work, he appears
not more a poet than a teacher of sound theoretical and practical
morality.

Besides his epic, he was the author of several prose works, famous
in their time. Of these, a Treatise on Monarchy, and two books on
the Common Use of Language, are in harsh Latin. The former is
now of questionable value; the latter give a philosophical and com-
prehensive view of the rise of the vernacular literature. His best
prose works are in Tuscan. One, the *Vita Nuova*, is a history of
his love for Beatrice, containing many valuable things, particularly
a plaintive and beautiful sonnet, written after her death. The *Con-
vito* is principally devoted to a justification of his employment of
the Tuscan, rather than of the Latin or Provençal; an excuse
for which may to us appear needless, but the Tuscan, until he
adopted it, had neither dignity nor compass. Of his lyric poems,
some are sportive, but the greater part solemn and earnest. Their
diction is often purer than that of the *Commedia*.

On this last production, however, rests Dante's fame. The criti-
cism of ages has approved it, and it has given character to the poetry
of modern Europe. The plan is that of an allegory, which often
admits of both an historical and moral interpretation; and is often
confessedly obscure, as, indeed, are all allegories, except the match-
less *Pilgrim's Progress*. In the opening, the poet is lost in a wood,
—Bunyan's "wilderness of this world,"—where, coming to a moun-
tain, he is prevented from ascending by a beautiful leopard, sym-
bolical of pleasure:—

"The hour was morning's prime; and on his way
Aloft the sun ascended, with those stars
That with him rose when Love Divine first moved
Those its fair works: so that with joyous hope
All things conspired to fill me—the gay skin
Of that swift animal, the matin dawn,
And the sweet season."

Other terrors awaited him: a lion, ambition, came against him so
fearfully that

"All the air was fear-struck;"

and a she-wolf, avarice, appearing in his way, he sinks back in despair, when

"The sun in silence rests"—

a metaphor for darkness, which occurs again in the poem, and is copied in Milton's *Samson Agonistes*. The historical interpretation makes the three animals here introduced represent, successively, Florence, the king of France, and the court of Rome; but as this involution of allegories is dependent on the ingenuity of commentators, and is often fanciful, the reader of Dante need pay it no attention.

Virgil, commissioned by Beatrice, who is sent for this purpose by Divine mercy and a heavenly dignity, sympathizes with him, and offers to guide him from the wild by a path which shall lead through the abode of those who "invoke a second death," and of those who "dwell content" for their allotted time, "in fire." Hell and purgatory passed, he will resign his charge to a "worthier spirit," the description of whom is truly beautiful, who shall be his guide through paradise. The tuneful pair pass the gate of hell, the last line of whose inscription chills Dante's heart:—

"All hope abandon, ye who enter here."

They are met by

"Outcries of woe,
Accents of anger, voices deep and hoarse;"

which, with

"Palms together smote, that swell'd the sounds,
Made up a tumult that forever whirls
Round through that air, with solid darkness stain'd."

The dwellers here were

"Too bad for a blessing, too good for a curse;"

and while

"Fame of them the world has none,"

they never pass the border of hell, lest the "accursed tribe" should glory at receiving men of a respectable negative goodness to their company. Here they live, while

"Mercy and justice scorn them both."

Farther onward they find a crowd, among whom is Pope Celestine V., awaiting their passage across "the woful tide of Acheron," one of the few borrowed ingredients of the poem.

Beyond this are the spirits of those who have died "subject to the wrath of God," dwelling in the *regio propria* of hell. This is divided into twenty-three distinct compartments, comprised in nine

regions or circles. It may be presumed to require no small effort of genius to maintain even a tolerable interest throughout so attenuated and detailed a scheme; but in reading the *Inferno* the attention never lags. Every grade of guilt, from lack of baptism to treason towards benefactors, here receives its demerit; and offenders of every rank and time, from Sinon of Troy to Mohammed and Nicholas V., from the age of Homer to that of Dante, undergo the penalties of their crimes. Every variety of punishment—despair, remorse, “fierce heat and ice”—is employed in the different circles. The imagery employed has no parallel. The classical *hades*, the revelations of Scripture, and the boundless fancy of the poet, are all laid under contribution. At every step we are melted in pity or chilled with terror.

It may be a fault of the *Inferno*, that the writer, in order to people with different characters his numerous scenes, is occasionally forced to employ a minuteness of description almost grotesque. Usually, however, no writer uses fewer strokes than Dante. His Ugolino and Francesca cannot possibly be abridged, yet their portraiture is perfect.

The immediate and amazing popularity of this part of the work is attributable to a cause independent of its real worth. Italians of the thirteenth century figure in it. The Florentines saw their late rulers,—their characters vividly drawn, and their eternal state powerfully defined. The scholar beheld characters of his day, grouped with those from early and even fabulous history, according to general standards of merit. This interest, which pervaded Dante's contemporaries, is lost to us; but there is enough in his masterly use of language, his life-like portraits, and his condensed sublimity of rhetoric, to interest and repay the reader of every age.

A noble company majestically moved through Limbo, composed of the classic heroes, the good Saladin, and all the unbaptized noble ones, who, dwelling in calm indifference,

“Spake

Seldom, but all their words were tuneful sweet.”

In the second circle he meets Francesca. She was the daughter of Guido of Ravenna, and was given in marriage to the lord of Rimini; but, charmed by the superior accomplishments of his brother, proved faithless, and being taken in adultery, was slain, together with her paramour, by her enraged husband. On being interrogated by the poet, she proceeds,

“As one who weeps and tells his tale. One day,
For our delight, we read of Lancelot—

How him love thrall'd. Alone we were, and no
 Suspicion near us. Ofttimes, by that reading
 Our eyes were drawn together, and the hue
 Fled from our alter'd cheek. But at one point
 Alone we fell. When of that smile we read,
 The wished smile, so rapturously kiss'd
 By one so deep in love—then he who ne'er
 From me shall separate, at once my lips
 All trembling kiss'd. The book and writer both
 Were love's purveyors. In its leaves, that day,
 We read no more."

Who does not detect in the abashed and delicate language of this episode the gem of Leigh Hunt's *Rimini*?

Passing through the various regions of hell, he finds the ninth circle to be its frozen zone—ice here replacing the fire of other circles. Among the traitors to whom this is appropriated, there is one worthy of special notice. Count Ugolino had betrayed a faction of the Guelphs in Pisa, but himself, in reverse of fortune, had fallen into the hands of Archbishop Ruggieri, who, though a Ghibelline leader, was the Count's personal enemy. Being given back by him to the Pisans whom he had betrayed, he, with two sons and two grandsons, was starved to glut their vengeance. He ceases from the ghastly retribution which he is inflicting on his foe, now his eternal companion, to tell a tale of horror unrivalled in any language. After their confinement, he says:—

"I wept not, so all stone I felt within.
They wept; and one, my little Anselm, cried:
 'Thou lookest so, father, what ails thee?' Yet
 I shed no tear, nor answer'd all that day,
 Nor the next night, until another sun
 Came out upon the world. When a faint beam
 Had to our doleful prison made its way,
 And in four countenances I descried
 The image of my own, on either hand
 Through agony I bit; and they who thought
 I did it through desire of feeding, rose
 O' the sudden, and cried: 'Father, we should grieve
 Far less if thou wouldst eat of us: thou gav'st
 These weeds of miserable flesh we wear,
 And do thou strip them off from us again!'
 Then, not to make them sadder, I kept down
 My spirit in stillness. That day and the next
 We all were silent. Ah, obdurate earth!
 Why open'dst not upon us? When we came
 To the fourth day, then Gaddo at my feet
 Outstretch'd did fling him, crying, 'Hast no help
 For me, my father?' There he died; and e'en

Plainly as thou seest me, saw I the three
 Fall one by one, 'twixt the fifth day and sixth.
 Whence I betook me, now grown blind, to grope
 Over them all, and for three days aloud
 Called on them, who were dead. Then fasting
 Got the mastery of grief."

The poet utters a terrible invective on the cruel Pisans, and passes on.

We feel a relief, as we arrive with him before dawn among the fresh breezes that play about the isle of Purgatory. A strain, too, of more cheerful verse, welcomes us to the region,

"In which the human soul, from sinful blot
 Is purged, and for ascent to heaven prepared."

The inmates of purgatory suffer indeed, but "dwell content in fire;" for hope, assurance, beams in every heart. They know that they shall issue forth to eternal life; they feel that each pang purifies, each toil brings them towards their goal. They live quite like Protestant saints on earth, rejoicing that

"Their suffering time will soon be o'er;"

or, perhaps, like the elect of a certain creed, fail they cannot, prevail, at some time, they surely will; therefore they make tolerable shift for the present. A very fair place is purgatory; and one of its inmates, Casella, an old friend of the poet, would entertain him by singing one of his own canzoni,—

"Love that discourses in my thoughts."

But here stern Cato of Utica, who, though unbaptized, is here, by special commission, to introduce our wayfarers, bids him better mind the dignity of the place. Occasionally an impatient soul importunes Dante to procure additional prayers and pious acts from its friends on earth, in order to hasten the time of its release.

A greeting given to Virgil by a fellow Mantuan, goes to the heart of the poet, as it reminds him bitterly of his own state, an exile, driven from his home by his own citizens. He breaks out against the ruinous factions of Italy and Florence, comparing the latter to a poor wretch who

"Finds no rest upon her couch, but oft
 Shifting her side, short respite seeks from pain."

As they proceed, the discourse turns on the different modes of violating the laws of Christian morality, pointed illustrations of which are constantly occurring, while characters illustrious for the opposite of such vices, are mentioned by way of praise. Kings and

hermits, the great and the humble, appear here as their respective moral characters require them to be placed. The poet summons them with earthly differences laid aside, and nods them with unfailling discernment to their appropriate stations, forming of them a splendid historical gallery. Warmth and glow increase in the poem, as we draw near the terrestrial paradise. Objects of lustre gleam in the growing light, fair young forms appear, and strains of melody float on the fragrance of zephyrs. The terrestrial paradise is not unlike the land of Beulah.

Virgil now resigns his charge to another being, Matilda, who guides the poet through scenes that we will not mutilate, until he finds Beatrice. The sight of her awoke his "ancient love." The long-restrained influence that had thrilled his boyish heart in the halls of Portinari, streamed anew on his spirit. His vision faltered, and he would have hid himself; but Beatrice chided and encouraged him—still he could not lift up his eyes. A choir of virgins carol out a prayer:—

" 'Turn, Beatrice,' was their song; 'O, turn
Thy saintly sight on this thy faithful one,
Who, to behold thee, many a weary pace
Hath measured. Gracious at our prayer vouchsafe,
Unveil to him thy cheeks, that he may mark
Thy second beauty, now conceal'd.' "

A draught from a heavenly stream gives him power sufficient "for mounting to the stars."

The Paradise is the feeblest of the divisions of the Comedy. We think the reason lies in the subject, rather than in the poet. It is a law of nature that sweet things pall the sense. A succession of terrors keeps us awake, while we grow weary of the unalloyed beautiful. The sweet draught must be relieved by an ingredient of bitter, or it loses its relish. To maintain a high interest throughout a poem of thirty-five cantos, filled with forms of unmixed happiness, is beyond the capacity of any human genius. The *Inferno* seizes on the heart by the two great emotions of pity and terror. It brings at every step some new and startling object of sympathy. There is no repetition, there is no stagnation: it is the master-piece. The *Purgatorio* sends forth the cheerful influence of hope. We see pain alleviated by the certainty that each moment diminishes its duration. Amid the groans of toil, we fancy that we hear the infant accents of praise. Over the gloom of sins unforgiven, we see the dawn of peace, of pardon, and of heaven. But in the *Paradiso* we are affected by contentment alone. The pleasurable emotions which arise at seeing felicity made perfect, admit of few varieties. We gaze,

we are pleased; but our complacency becomes fatiguing,—we are restless, and wish to avert our vision. Dante has exhausted his subject. Nothing could have been done, which he has left undone; yet, before we finish reading it, a sense of satiety comes over us. Still, had Dante written nothing else, the *Paradiso* would have established for him no common fame. The first seven cantos are a constant flow of soft and brilliant poetry. No language can furnish their superior. They are gentle without being sluggish, and tender without being feeble.

As he proceeds on his way, the saints whom he meets explain to him the rites of the Church and the mysteries of faith and providence. Cacciaguida, the knight already named, recounts to his descendant his own history and that of his native city, and advises his future course. Firenze, that loved, yet hateful name, comes in once more, while stern remembrances darken the exile's heart, even in the glories of the heavenly vision. His spirit nowhere forgets its burning wrongs. Still he ascends, and the Church triumphant bursts upon his view; its glorified Lord pouring the full beatitude of his presence upon the faithful, toilworn host. Farther on, St. Peter catechises him on faith, St. James on hope, and St. John on charity. They are satisfied with his answers, at which he takes courage to hope that he shall one day prevail over the cruelty

“That bars him forth
Of the fair sheepfold where, a sleeping lamb,
The wolves set on, and fain had worried him.”

St. Peter adds the weight of his own authority to what saints of less degree have already abundantly said; inveighing against the prevailing wickedness of prelates and priests, from his own representative in the Vatican down to the humblest curate.

Beatrice finally takes him into the empyrean, and shows him, at one grand view, the blessedness of angels and perfected saints; then she resigns him to St. Bernard, who inducts him into the climacteric of mysteries, that of the Holy Trinity:—

“Here vigour fail’d the towering fantasy,
But yet the *will* rolled onward like a wheel,
In even motion, by that love impell’d
Which moves the sun in heaven and all the stars.”

The Vision is concluded. We may be pardoned for passing the other works of Dante with no other criticism than has already been given.

His claim to originality deserves more notice, inasmuch as it has been often and closely questioned. That he has borrowed much

from Virgil, is not denied. The fate of his suicides, for instance, is clearly taken from the Polydorus of the *Æneid*. Some other features of the scenery of *Inferno* are also borrowed. Much of the Vision has been attributed to the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero. But by far the greater part has been credited to the Vision of Alberico, a monk who, two hundred years before, had seemed to behold the mysteries of the future worlds.

We do not claim that Dante employed an entirely new method of communication, or ventured upon wholly untried subjects, or introduced perfectly unique conveyances of thought. We claim, however, that if the conception be not novel, yet the grand and magnificent outline, the tremendous and unparalleled framework, the unwearied train of appalling or lovely, terrific or tender images and incidents that fill it up, the prodigious and comprehensive erudition that displays itself on every page—these are Dante's own; and they constitute him an original poet. They who expect more than *these* from an author, before they consent to rank him among creative minds, expect what Shakspeare, perhaps even Homer, cannot furnish. They seem to seek, without knowing it, an intellectual monster, not a man.

It is no small proof of Dante's merit, that he has filled so large a place in the world of letters. We have remarked his influence on his native language. Soon after his death, Florence established a professorship to expound his poem; and Boccaccio, the first poet of his age, was proud to occupy the chair. We think that no Italian poet can be found who does not exhibit traces of Dante—some marks to show whom he regards as his master. No writer has so affected English literature, as has Dante that of Italy. Nor was his influence confined to the south of Europe: Milton and Chaucer worshipped at this shrine, and culled many a gem from the writer

"Whose rhetoric so sweet enlumin'd Italy."

Later still, German research has found a rich field for its toil in the Florentine's pages. Such influence must have a source adequate to its issue, and that source is the work

"With which all Europe rang from side to side."

In every part of the work appears the author—in hell, in purgatory, and in paradise—the same searching student, the same tender, melancholy, unforgiving man. A person of different temperament would never have written the Vision. To compare him with Milton, is a work to which the accurate judgment of Macaulay has been incidentally directed. The decision of the English critic is brief,

and it seems to us unfair. He had Milton in his vernacular. Dante, if we may judge by a quotation in his essay on Milton, he seems to have known, either by an imperfect acquaintance with Tuscan, or by a bungling prose translation. Now there are two methods by which the sublimity of Dante may be reached. One is, to think and feel with him as Milton did, in his own rich tongue—a work for which few have leisure or inclination; the other is, to read Cary's translation, the fruit of a long life's toil, and of a genial sympathy with the poet and his times. We cannot see that Macaulay has employed either mode. In the true sublime, Dante is inferior to Milton. He has nothing equal to Milton's Satan. Yet he falls short only a little; the *Inferno* is full of a well-sustained sublimity. The sublime in Milton is often like the deafening peal, which ceases, and we breathe again; in Dante, it is like a heavy roar, varying its tone, but never parting with its strength. If Milton is more impressive, Dante is more copious; if the former has a loftier, the latter has a stronger and more even flight. The fertility of the one could not sustain the *Paradise Regained*, the latter keeps up an equal interest through nearly a hundred cantos of his poem. On the whole, we think that in originality and fertility of mind, Dante is superior to Milton; while in true sublimity and poetic power, he is below him.

Among the ranks of feeble men that filled the earth in the thirteenth century, one reared himself like the forms of earlier times, and Homer and Virgil had a companion. Farther down, Milton arose, a companion to the three. When shall we see the fifth? We shall see men of science, of art, and eloquence; we shall see bards of honourable fame; but we may wait long, yet never see another of the great creative minds—the true epic poets.

ART. IV.—METHODIST PREACHING.

WE sit down, in a somewhat desultory mood, to pen some thoughts for the leisure reading of our Methodist patrons, and our ministerial brethren in particular, on the subject presented in the above title. We consider the peculiarities of Methodist preaching as not a little distinctive of our history—as important denominational characteristics. Their very importance, however—the boldness of their relief—has rendered them obvious and familiar; while, then, we offer our readers other articles sufficiently elaborate, we may in this indulge, perhaps not without advantage to them and ourselves, in the freedom of spontaneous reflections—reflections which, though

cursorily uttered from the heart, may not be without their lesson.

The old Methodist preaching! We do honestly confess a sort of pride for its noble naturalness, its moral power, and the grandeur of its results, and somewhat of a tinge of denominational bigotry in favour of the unadulterated preservation of its essential qualities. If that apparatus is best which best accomplishes its ends, who will say that Methodist preaching has not been the best preaching extant in our world for a hundred years? Denominations which had been in the American field a hundred years and more before Methodism had an adherent; denominations having the essential truth, and an educated ministry, and traditional prestige, and the influence of popular respectability, have been left a century in the rear of Methodism; and some of the single annual additions of the latter have equalled the whole numerical strength of the former. This is a point to be touched delicately, we know; but we would here hold in abeyance our aforesaid bigotry, if possible, and present the striking fact as full of significance, not to gratify our denominational vanity, but to teach us an admonitory lesson; for let us be assured, that the *preaching of the word is the great means of evangelization in the earth*, and that the peculiarities which have given pre-eminent success to our preaching should be held with an unyielding grasp.

Doubtless our denominational progress is attributable to a great many conditions, but our preaching has been the chief one; it has been related to, and has empowered all others. Suppose we had had our itinerancy, and even our wholesome doctrines, but a stereotyped, lifeless, however refined, preaching—a ministry with even the culture of education, but heartlessly lisping manuscript essays from appointment to appointment—would our cause have broken out on the right and on the left, overwhelming the land, as it has through the labours of the men who have made it a glory in the world? And does any one doubt, that if all the Christian preaching of the earth were conducted in the same style of directness, energy, and unction that these men used, the gospel would overflow the world, as Methodism has so rapidly its own immediate fields in Great Britain and the United States? Notwithstanding all the drawbacks which the sectarian delicacy of such illustrations must present, even to many not over-fastidious Methodist readers, yet the actual force of them is felt immediately and conclusively. Turn all the pulpits of Christendom into such batteries as were the original pulpits of Methodism, and the evangelic combat would soon resound through the world. Hesitate as we may at the apparent boastfulness

of the remark, we Methodists who have known that ministry, feel "the full assurance of faith" in its truthfulness.

From the very nature of the subject, it is impossible for us to speak of it justly, without this apparent sectarian egotism. We must be permitted, therefore, to make another laudatory assertion respecting this ministry, namely, that it not only excelled in the legitimate results of the office, but has been marked by an unusual amount of genuine talent, using this word in its popular acceptance.

Taken as a whole, the English Wesleyan ministry is not only the most effective, but the most able body of men in Great Britain, and if we were to express fully our own personal opinion, we should add, in the world. They are the best sermonizers, and the best pulpit speakers (being, besides the Roman priests, the only extemporizers) in the United Kingdom; and if once in an age the Kirk presents a pulpit prodigy like Chalmers, or the Baptists a Hall, cases which admit of no denominational comparisons, yet English Methodism, in the number, if not in the genius of its "first-rate" men, has stood pre-eminent. More masterly minds have not been connected with the religious affairs of modern England than the Watsons, Buntings, Newtons, Jacksons, Dixons, Hannahs, and others who have managed the interests of Wesleyan Methodism during the last fifty years.

In this country, our ministry has never been destitute of masterly intellects. Asbury will yet be placed, if not at the head, yet among the foremost ecclesiastical characters in American history. Our early bishops, M'Kendree, George, Roberts, Soule, Hedding, have been men of the highest pulpit power—such power as results not merely from the moral peculiarities of Methodist preaching, but from commanding faculties and great personal characteristics. Meanwhile, there have ever and anon appeared in our pulpits rare lights, which have hardly found contemporary rivals elsewhere, such as Summerfield, Ross, Bascom, Ruter, Emory, Fisk, Olin, and not a few others dead or alive. It is our sober opinion, that if we take the aggregate of "first-rate" pulpit men of all American Christian sects, Methodism would be found to have decidedly the largest proportion. We speak not now of learning, but of great pulpit ability, and great personal traits.

It has not been for want of superior men that Methodism has not commanded more public respect; it has been chiefly because of its rigorous peculiarities, which have repelled the world, and adventitious circumstances connected with the social sphere, to which it has chiefly directed its labours.

The mass of the Methodist ministry has not been able to compare

with that of other sects in education; but this is the only point (and we acknowledge it to have been a very material one) in which the comparison is disparaging to it. In natural talent, in sound Scriptural knowledge, in all the great traits of individual character, what body of men has ever surpassed them? "Their works do follow them;" and these are the best criterion of their capacity.

While, however, we unreservedly contend for thus much, we do not hesitate to admit that our claim may not have been equally high in respect to the lowest rank of the American ministries. With the exception of one or two other denominations, education has been a general prerequisite for the pulpit among American sects. This condition alone would be sufficient to preclude from them almost entirely a certain class of labourers, of which Methodism has availed itself with great advantage among the popular masses. While this class has perhaps been the occasion of a lower estimate of our ministry generally, it has really been no ground of comparison with other sects, as it constitutes a peculiar rank, almost entirely exceptional in their ministries. The question, as we have been reviewing it, is not whether taken aggregately, but taken proportionally, Methodism has had as competent a ministry, or, if you please, a more competent ministry, than other sects.

It would not be just for us to leave this admission respecting the very lowest rank of the ministry, without a qualification. We would not disparage it by saying that (with one or two exceptions) it is peculiar to ourselves. This is a fact, but it is no disparaging fact; on the contrary, were it demanded of us to say which class of our labourers has actually most extended Methodism in the land, and most peopled heaven with its converts, we should hesitate to award the honour to any other than this very class. Our world has need of such a class of evangelical workmen, and it will always have this need; and God grant that Methodism may always perceive the fact, and provide for it! We are known to all our readers as the advocate of education and ministerial improvement, but we should consider it most consummate impolicy—an act of ecclesiastical *felo de se*—for Methodism to adopt any exclusive standard of ministerial qualification. Let it have its standard, and a good one, and constrain all to it whom it can; but keep also that discretionary liberty of judgment, by which Wesley founded the modern lay ministry, and without which Methodism would probably have been unknown as a distinct body at this day.

Now, what is the purport of all these remarks, trenching so much as they of necessity have had to, on the modesty with which collective, as well as individual men should speak of themselves? Have

they been written for self-gratulation, for invidious disparagement of sister Churches? Verily not; we have set out to present some views on the peculiarities of *Methodist Preaching*—peculiarities which we fear need to be somewhat renewed and vindicated among us; and we hope our readers will, with ourselves, deem these introductory observations on the character and usefulness of our denominational ministry, not irrelevant to the design. Let us now look at some of these characteristic peculiarities.

One of them, and doubtless the most important one, was the fact that the *saving elementary truths of the gospel were continually reiterated*. Our primitive preachers were great readers of the Scriptures, and of their own theological standards; their range of study was limited, but it was fertile. It afforded them resources for varied preaching, and they did preach variously; they had also provocatives enough to lead them into polemical discussions; but, whether preaching polemics or didactics, or pouring forth their favourite, general, and rousing exhortations, they had the happy art of mingling the essential doctrines of grace with all. Seldom did the man who was inquiring "What shall I do to be saved?" hear a Methodist preacher, without bearing away with him the precise answer. The lost condition of the soul by nature, repentance towards God, faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, justification, sanctification, the witness of the Spirit—such truths seemed to make up the alphabet out of which the very syllabification of their discourses was formed; so that it may be said, with but little qualification, that whosoever heard an ordinary Methodist sermon, however casually, thenceforward knew most, if not all, of the doctrines of grace.

This very excellence may not have been without a fault—the excess of a good thing; but if faulty, its error was on the safe side. Considering, however, the circumstances of those times, the necessity of direct saving preaching, amidst the universal declension of piety, it may well be doubted whether this general uniformity was in any wise a defect.

There was a generousness, a sort of evangelical liberalism, about the subject-matter of the old Methodist preaching, which could not but inspire both the preacher and his hearers. It repelled everywhere the dogmatic restrictions which the prevalent creed had put upon the promises of the gospel. God had concluded all men in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all, was its affirmation, in the face of all teaching to the contrary. Where sin abounds, grace much more abounds, it asserted. Universal redemption, the universal help of the Holy Spirit, free, present, perfect, and eternal salvation for all men who would accept it—this was its

grand predication; and men bearing such a message could not but proclaim it as with the sound of trumpets.

There were, doubtless, many other elements of moral force in the preaching of our fathers, some of which we shall proceed to mention; but we cannot refrain from pausing here to put unwonted emphasis on the one specified. The saving truths of revelation are the great elements of moral power in the world. God's word is "God's almightiness" among men; and he that invests himself with its great essential energies, is the mighty man in the moral world. Michael or Gabriel wielded no mightier sword in the wars of the angels. If nine-tenths of all the dogmatic theology extant were at once extinguished from the earth, and the doctrines immediately related to conversion and sanctification were brought forth in our pulpits and religious literature with proportionately more fulness and frequency, who doubts that all the energies of Christianity would be redoubled? The early Methodist preachers, being mostly men who were powerfully converted from down-right sinfulness, went forth with their souls imbued and flaming with these powerful truths, and, with whatever inability otherwise, preached them in demonstration of the Spirit and power. The hardened multitude hailed them with shouts of derision; but listening, wept, fell often like dead men to the earth, and went to their homes praying, and exclaiming "These are the men who show us the way of salvation!"

As we prize our ministerial vocation, let us study well this example of our fathers, and learn well its lesson. Woe to us when the generalities or moralities of religion, however glorious, shall take the place of those direct, soul-quickening doctrines which were the chief themes of our first ministry.

So much for the main themes of Methodist preaching. We do not affirm that these were peculiar to it, but that this habitual reiteration of them was. Other ministries preached them; but it is, we suppose, quite generally acknowledged, that when Methodism went forth through the land, the stated ministries of the country dealt mostly in the general didactics of religion. When Jesse Lee entered New-England, a half century had passed since the last extensive revival—that of Edwards's day.

But not in its themes only was Methodist preaching peculiar: it was notably so in its *style*. Our fathers, more than any other modern ministry, preached *ad populum*. They came out from the people, and knew how to address the people; and the popular effects of their preaching, the great massive ingatherings of the people into their communion, are a demonstration of their power nothing short of magnificent—proof of character and capacity, above all polemic

tomes or literary demonstrations which ever proceeded from clerical heads. In referring to their *style* of preaching, we speak comprehensively, meaning not only their *verbal* style, but their mode of illustrating the truth, and their style of elocution; and in all these respects we have the presumption to say that, take them as a whole, they had more manly genuineness, more practical adaptedness, and therefore more effectiveness, than any other ministry since the days of the apostles. The sectarian egotism of this remark *must* be excused, for the fact is, to our vision, an outstanding one, and may be seen and read of all men, in the results of their labours.

In regard to their verbal style, we are prepared to admit the charge that they were generally unlettered, and therefore unprepared to present their public instructions with those traits of literary purity and elevation which education alone can confer, and which we acknowledge to be desirable in public religious teachers, both as befitting the exalted character of moral truth, and as an auxiliary means of the elevation of the popular taste. We would not, in the least, depreciate any genuine accomplishment which can be brought to the aid of religion. With the lack of literary polish, however, our early ministry had those advantages of the simple, direct, and often strenuous speech of the people, which educated men are too apt to lose, but ought not to lose in their professional diction. The true purity of Saxon consists not merely in its simple words, but also in a sort of colloquial facility and aptness of phrases, of sentences. Addison's contrast with Johnson is not in words only, but in their collocation. Now, what we would remark is, that the untutored style of our early ministry had this great excellence—this *colloquial directness and force*. And this is an inestimable excellence in popular address. It brought the truth not only to the hearing of the people, but to their comprehension; and not only to their comprehension, but to their interest. Men will readily fall asleep under the literary style of a manuscript sermon, but an earnest conversational style keeps the attention; it leads the mind of the hearer into a sort of interlocution with the speaker, and thus the truth insinuates itself into the conscience and the heart. This was the style of the Great Teacher himself.

Their mode of *illustrating* the truth was of similar character. Similitudes drawn, like Christ's, from familiar life, allusions to local or passing events, the thrilling anecdote—these were the staple of their expositions. We do not deny that in individual cases they were excessive, and became too characteristic, so as to change the preacher somewhat into the anecdote-monger; but such were exceptional to the general character of the ministry. While the great

mass of the itinerancy avoided this abuse, they traversed the land, wielding, in their homely, earnest speech and popular illustrations, a power over the common mind, compared with which the customary and more refined prelections of the pulpits of the day were only as the music of the piper compared with the wind abroad in its strength—the “mighty rushing wind.”

One of their characteristics, seemingly at first view a fault, but really a great excellence, ought to be more particularly noticed; we mean the almost general habit of giving *experimental illustrations* from their own personal religious history. The egotism which would seem to accompany this course under more stately circumstances, could hardly suggest itself to them or their hearers in the simplicity of their primitive assemblies—held often in barns, kitchens, school-houses, or under the trees of the forest. Studying the truth in their Bibles, these laborious men found its appropriate comments written by the Holy Spirit, as in lines of fire, upon their own souls; and when these comments were read aloud, with tears and sobbing adoration, the effect was resistless. How often, when the rest of the discourse has apparently failed of impression, have we seen the multitudes melt with emotion when these experimental attestations have been adduced! Such references to their own history, could not fail to kindle their religious feelings, and to spread an intense sympathetic emotion through their assemblies.

As to the oratorical style of the early Methodist preachers, much might be said, though we doubt not the phrase is looked upon at this moment, by some of our readers, with quite equivocal thoughts. None, however, share such thoughts who lived in their day and heard them often; we doubt, indeed, whether any such one now reads these lines who is not ready to affirm, that, whatever literary improvement may have since been made by our ministry, in genuine oratory it cannot now pretend to rival its earlier periods. We speak of the average ministry—there are exceptional cases of pre-eminence now, and there were then; but we doubt much whether the mass of the ministry now equals in genuine pulpit eloquence our preachers of thirty or forty years ago.

There was an unusual proportion of strong, stout-bodied men among them; their itinerant habits gave them robust frames, and trumpet-like voices; and their popular mode of addressing the masses, gave them the right command of their vocal powers, the right modulation and the right gesticulation. What preachers now extant among us surpass, in personal dignity and vocal power, Jesse Lee, Bostwick, Ruter, Beauchamp, Roszel, Merwin, Brodhead? Not only the dignified mien, but the sonorous and eloquent

tones of these men are remembered throughout the Church. The last of them, especially, was a noble specimen of manhood and oratory; he often preached on the final judgment, and usually with a dignity of bearing and a sublimity of voice which comported even with that lofty theme. Those who heard him could hardly have been more awe-smitten if they had seen the heavens fleeing away at the approach of the Judge; and often scores fell to the earth, and lay as dead men, while "the trumpet waxed louder and louder."

The naturalness, the colloquial facility of which we have spoken, were adapted to true oratory. Introducing their discourses thus, our old preachers usually rose with the subject to higher strains, until the sublimest declamation was often reached, and the awe-struck people wept or groaned aloud. There were doubtless faults about them, excesses of good qualities; but these defects were but exceptional, and were always preferable to the opposite ones.

The traits already enumerated tended to produce another characteristic, namely, *direct results*. Our fathers expected to see men awakened and converted under their sermons, and the expectation led to an adaptation of their discourses to this end. A sermon that had not some visible effect was hardly satisfactory, whatever might be the hope of its future results. It was usual with them to end the discourse with a home-directed and overwhelming application, and often to follow it immediately with exercises of prayer, that they might gather up the shaken fruit on the spot. Hence revivals flamed along their extended circuits. They were *workmen*, and workmen that needed not to be ashamed.

This aim at direct results was the secret of one half the success of Methodism—it is the explanation of most of our history. Men actuated and thrilled by such a purpose—how could they be otherwise than eloquent and demonstrative? It would make ordinary talents extraordinary, and convert weakness itself into strength.

Now take a corps of robust men, possessed of good strong sense, the vigorous vernacular of the people, staunch sonorous voices, and sanctified hearts, and inspirit them with the purpose and expectation of *immediate results* from their labours, and you will have a specimen of the old Methodist ministry. How, we again ask, could such men be otherwise than eloquent and genuinely great? As a man thinketh, says Solomon, so is he; much more may it be said, as a man purposeth, so is he. Of the truly great men of the world we suppose it can be proved, that more owed their success to energetic purpose than to great faculties. One thing, at least, seems certain, namely, that good ordinary faculties being given, and a determined purpose added, success is certain, except where some adven-

titious obstacle, beyond all human control, intervenes. The will is a presiding, a pervading faculty. The other powers are individually independent, to a great extent. A man may have a strong imagination, and be an intellectual coxcomb; or a strong memory, and be a blockhead; or a cautious judgment, and be a granite post, at once as insusceptible and as immovable: but an energetic will seems related to all the other faculties, and energizes them all. There are exceptions, to be sure: the ass may sometimes be determined, but the hero is always so.

Bring a man, in we care not what position, whether a mechanic at his bench or a captain at the head of hosts, to concentrate his endeavours on one absorbing purpose, and you add to all his resources for that purpose an energy, which, if history is not wholly a lie, is more important than they all; and which, in some cases, when the destinies of states have impended, and all other resources have been confounded, has seemed like God's own fiat, to evoke a universe of means out of nothing. He *must* be the great man who manfully and persistently keeps his soul up to a great purpose. If even uncontrollable circumstances interdict to him great achievements, still his soul will be great within him.

Our fathers, like the apostles, had the sublimest aim possible to man—the eternal redemption of human souls. They made this an *immediate* work, and directed every energy to it. A sermon with them was not an entertaining exposition, to be heard by a self-complacent audience through a leisure hour, nor an expert polemical dissection, nor a didactic example of clerical scholarship: others could so preach, for they had qualified themselves for it; but the untutored, earnest-hearted Methodist ministry would have converted itself into a herd of ecclesiastical apes, by attempting to assume such a character. Preaching, on the contrary, was with them “sounding the alarm” through the land. They were as men standing on the heights of the shore, and crying out and pointing out to wrecked mariners the way to the land, amidst the tumults of the storm. What, under such circumstances, could they do with rhetorical expletives, with circumlocutory descriptions, or finical gesticulations? They would point immediately and energetically to the place of safety—they must speak in the directest and most urgent terms.

Now, though there is some qualification to be given to this description, though there were occasionally circumstances in which a different style of discourse was adopted and was suitable, yet we contend that this was the usual character of the old Methodist preaching, and also that it is the legitimate style of the ambassador

of God—that it is not only what the moral wants of the world demand, but that, more than any other mode of preaching, it naturally tends to true eloquence—not only the eloquence of earnest thought and feeling, but to that simple, direct, urgent style which always accompanies the highest order of oratory, and to that natural but energetic manner which secures the right modulation, both of voice and gesture.

The subject suggests a practical remark which we cannot forbear uttering. This energetic *directness of aim* furnishes a rule of success almost infallible, and one that is *practicable to all men*. No ambassador of Christ should be content to be an ordinary man. He professes to believe himself armed with a preternatural authority, and supplied with preternatural endowments. These, if nothing else, should give him an extraordinary character, based upon an extraordinary, a pure and sublime self-consciousness of his official position. Yet how often do we find in the sacred office men who pass through year after year of sheer ineffectiveness, uniform only in their lack of positive traits, or positive results. This should *never* be the case. We care not what want of marked ability, or what inopportune circumstances there may be, a man of piety and of but ordinary faculties, should, in such an extraordinary function, be an extraordinary man; and he needs but one additional quality, and that, as we have said, a universally practicable one, to make him so—he needs but this resolute directness of purpose. Let the unsuccessful young man, that now, perchance, sits in his study reading these lines, and desponding, it may be, over the failure of his course, the declension of his congregation, the absence of conversions, the dispirited temper of his official supporters—let him, upon his knees, vow that he will now, by the help of God, begin his work anew, with an energetic aim at appreciable and immediate results; and what, if he persists in his resolution, will follow? Why, immediately this new purpose will change his own mood quite visibly—he will become inspirited,—and soon all around him will catch the salutary contagion of his example. His subjects will now be chosen with more reference to their direct impression; his illustrations, his whole train of thought, his very words, will take somewhat of a new character, from the energetic purpose which sways him—a purpose which he recognised always, to be sure, but which has now become ignited and luminous in his soul. Thus, resolutely reaching beyond all factitious or secondary appliances, and bearing down with all his might on the one design before him, he will assuredly become a mightier man. If he is so naturally destitute of talent, as not, even under such an impulse, to be able to develop any new or higher ability than before, yet

will his small talents, more earnestly used, become more interesting to his hearers. They will feel the power of his heart, if not of his head. An earnest character in a good cause can never fail to command the sympathy of the great popular heart. Put such a man anywhere, and he will carry with him the popular respect, if not the popular applause,—nay, he will, sooner or later, compel along with him, to no small extent, the popular co-operation. Can we not recall facts in proof of these remarks? How often have we known preachers who, with very ordinary abilities, were, nevertheless, always received well, and who have sometimes been in general demand? And why? The only answer is, they were earnest, hard-working men, good visitors among the people, assiduous in the Sunday-school interest, energetic in social meetings, sympathetic with the sick and poor—men, in a word, who are intent on their one work—the rescue of souls.

Whatever then may be your talent, rouse yourself, O man of God, to a renewed and soul-stirring consciousness of your high calling! If you have brilliant endowments, remember that their direct appropriation to the single ultimate purpose of your office will only exalt and improve them. If your gifts are small, remember your graces and energy need not be so. Open your Bible and select subjects which will lead men directly to God. Go into the pulpit expecting, intensely praying that souls may be rescued under the discourse of the hour; go into the prayer-meeting urging the people unto the cross; go forth into the streets, not to idle away time with colloquial common-places, or twaddling jokes, but, like Paul, to “warn” the people “from house to house with tears.” Act thus, and heaven and earth shall pass away rather than the word of God fail in your hands, or you be an ineffective man.

But is there no considerable qualification to be admitted here? Is it the case, that the Christian teacher does not need the more indirect and collateral modes of labour as well as this energetic course? The fallacy of the question consists in the tacit assumption that the earnest, direct aim we contend for, cannot apply to such collateral modes; and what is most deplorable is, that this assumption is generally practical, as well as tacit. How common is it that doctrinal or ethical preachers assume a distinctive character as such, sacrificing to their elaborateness or their apathy the force that awakens souls and quickens the Church! We must indeed preach doctrines, and morals, and the generalities of religion, and we may do this, too, with all intellectual and literary appliances; but a direct and even intense aim at what we have called the “single ultimate purpose” of our office, may modify and thrill with power all such

topics and appliances. This is what we contend for; and we contend that the characteristic effectiveness of our early preaching consisted in this; and that the great reason of the comparative ineffectiveness of the pulpit, throughout the world, arises from the want of it.*

Another characteristic quite peculiar to the early Methodist preaching, in this country at least, and an almost necessary counterpart of the excellencies we have described, was its *extemporaneous delivery*. We are inclined to speak with some emphasis, and yet with care, on this subject. The tendency to a contrary mode of preaching, which is incipiently developing itself among us, we deem not so much a fatal, practical heresy as an unwise policy. Some very excellent and influential brethren encourage it by their example, at least; we would not give them provocation by unnecessary severity. We propose to offer a few reflections on the subject, which may commend themselves to their candid consideration.

Extemporaneous preaching was, until lately, the universal usage of our ministry. It was more than this,—it was, as we have intimated, a *necessary* characteristic of the kind of preaching we have attributed to them. We cannot, indeed, *conceive* of the preaching we have described as other than extemporaneous. Reading never could be preaching, in this sense, any more than the letters of the one word spell the other. How those heroic men could have gone thundering through the land, prostrating multitudes to the earth, or melting them to tears, by the reading of manuscripts, is a problem which certainly no experiment ever solved, and no logic can show. It is, in fact, quite clear, *a priori*, that they would have been an entirely different class of men, and Methodism a quite different affair, if they had been readers instead of what they pre-eminently were—preachers.

Not only is extemporaneous preaching adapted to the *themes*, the *style*, and the *immediate* effect which we have attributed to our primitive preaching, but we contend that it is consistent with the best style of public discourse—with just thought, accurate instruction, and a sufficiently accurate verbal style. These latter excellencies, of course, depend largely upon previous training, and the preparation of the discourse; but it must be remembered also, that this is the case in regard to written sermons,—a speaker, without previous education and immediate study of the discourse in hand, would hardly succeed better in reciting it, than in delivering it extempore.

* The late lamented President Olin, was a notable example of such a union of effective directness with all the traits and topics of an educated preacher. He could preach on no subject without immediate and profound effect; and had his health permitted, he would have stood forth before the American public a national model of pulpit effectiveness.

He that would be a successful extemporizer should have a well-stored mind, and should thoroughly meditate his subjects—so thoroughly, indeed, that the whole perspective of the main ideas of his discourse, from the exordium to the peroration, shall be clearly open before his mental vision when he rises in the pulpit. This is requisite, for two reasons: first, that he may have something to say; and secondly, that he may have the confidence which will enable him to say it with self-possession and force. Self-possession, based upon a sufficient preparation, is the whole secret of success in extemporaneous speaking. A speaker thus sustained can hardly fail to have, spontaneously, the right language and due emotion; he has incomparably more facilities for them than the manuscript preacher. We say *right* language; and that is right which is appropriate to the occasion. It may not be as precise as the pen would afford,—but ought it always to be so? Would it be desirable, that the free, irregular but idiomatic facility of ordinary conversation should be superseded at our hearths by the prim precision and literary nicety of book-makers? There is a style for books, a style for conversation, and a style for the rostra or the pulpit. He who rises in the latter, with his mind fraught with the ideas of his subject, and his heart inspired with its spirit, will, in most cases, spontaneously utter himself aright. If he is occasionally diffuse or repetitious, yet it may be legitimate to the occasion or the subject that he should be so. If his style may not *read* as well as it was heard, yet even this may be because of its peculiar adaptation to be heard rather than read.

We affirm further, that both the design and history of preaching are in favour of extempore delivery. The earnestness and directness for which we have contended may consist, as we have shown, with all varieties of talents and topics, but it is hardly compatible with pulpit *reading*. Very rarely indeed does a powerful reader, like Chalmers, appear in the pulpit. We know not another case like his in the history of the Christian ministry. Chalmers tried the experiment of extemporizing in his country parish, but prematurely abandoned it; yet when in his full splendour at Glasgow, his biographer says, that his occasional extempore discourses, in the private houses of his poor parishioners, teemed with more glorious eloquence than ever dazzled the crowded congregation of the Tron kirk.

The two greatest preachers of modern times, Whitefield and Robert Hall, were extemporizers—their written sermons were composed after delivery. We have said that the Wesleyan preachers of England are, as a body, the best sermonizers, and the most successful speakers, in the United Kingdom; and they are the only extempo-

rizers in it, except the Roman Catholics. Such a thing as a manuscript sermon is never seen in the pulpits of the continent, except when American or English clergymen happen to ascend them. If the European clergy, Catholic or Protestant, write their discourses, they have, nevertheless, the good sense to deliver them *memoriter*, and thereby save them from the dulness of reading. In like manner did the old and unrivalled pulpit orators of France, Massillon, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fletcher, Fenelon, eschew the manuscript. The latter, in his "Dialogues on Eloquence," contends for extempore speaking; he argues that even the classic orators were mostly extemporizers.*

The Anglo-Saxon pulpit, against all the predilections of that race, is, in fine, the only place where reading is tolerated, as a mode of popular address. The member of parliament, or of congress, who should attempt to read his speech, would almost inevitably break down. The advocate at the bar, contending for the life of his client, would be considered recreant to all the urgency of the occasion were he to stand up before the jury to read his plea. The popular orator who should attempt to *read* the masses into enthusiasm, on some high occasion of national exigency, would be dubbed a jackass. Why can manly and powerful eloquence be successful everywhere else but in the pulpit? The pulpit is its most legitimate arena. The themes and aims of the pulpit are all adapted to it. The religious congregation is the true popular assembly, and there, if anywhere, ought eloquence to appear in all its liberties and powers.

So almost intuitive is our perception of the inappropriateness of manuscript preaching to the popular religious assembly, that we cannot conceive of Christ *reading* his discourses to the multitudes of Judea, or St. Paul preaching on Mars Hill from a scroll. We *know* this could not have been, not from any historical testimony, but from the manifest absurdity of the supposition. For the same reason we cannot associate it with the old powerful Methodist preaching, nor, indeed, with any really popular and demonstrative preaching.

We cannot conclude these remarks without deprecating most earnestly any considerable deviation from this excellent custom of our fathers. Be assured, that he who can preach at all, can preach extemporaneously, if he will but persevere in the experiment. The young man of good education, who, from his academic habits or natural diffidence, or any other cause, is now addicting himself to pul-

* There is much to be said on both sides of this question. The most probable supposition is, that the classic orators wrote their discourses, memorizing their substance, but delivering them without much regard to the written language. See Fenelon.

pit reading, is putting his whole professional life under a servile restraint, which will not only consume unnecessarily large amounts of his time, but trammel the development of all his pulpit powers. Let him study thoroughly his subjects; but let him devote to the storing of his mind the time now spent in mere verbal preparation for the desk; let him resolutely stumble along through whatever embarrassments till he acquires the confidence which habit will surely produce; let him understand well that what he wants for the pulpit is thought and sentiment, and that these secured, direct unpretending utterance, right home to the souls of the people, is the only true style for him—the noblest eloquence. If, in the experiment, he sometimes falls below the tame mediocrity of his former manuscript efforts, yet will he oftener rise transcendently above it, in the exulting freedom of an inspired and untrammelled mind.

One fact let him be assured of, namely, that whatever uniform and respectable character his manuscript preaching may have, the *maximum* power of preaching can never be attained by the sermon reader. He sacrifices all hope of this; and no young man should ever make this sacrifice. With God's commission upon him, with the Holy Spirit within him, with all the assistance of books and nature about him, with the solemnities of eternity before him, let him throw himself with all directness and energy into his work, speaking to the people in their own strong and simple speech, seeking not to ape the rhetorician, but to save souls, "pulling them out of the fire:" he will then speak from his heart with infinitely more eloquence than he could utter from his manuscript.

We contend then for the old Methodist school of preaching—not because it is *old*—traditional authority weighs little with us; but traditional success does weigh with us; and our whole denominational history is a demonstration of the utility of extempore preaching.

Such were some of the characteristic traits of the preaching which has made Methodism what it is in this land. We have not referred to the peculiar piety, the special anointing, which some of us claim for our early ministry; this, if not taken for granted, might be deemed invidious. With this, however, the traits enumerated were, in our estimation, their marked distinctions—the right *themes*, the right *style*, energetic *aim at direct results*, and popular or *extemporaneous* addresses. We have not said how far these characteristics are yet retained by our ministry; this has not, thus far, been relevant to our purpose. We may hereafter give a frank opinion on the subject in an article on what modifications of the primitive school of Methodist preaching may be rendered desirable by the progress of the times.

ART. V.—TENDENCY OF CURRENT EVENTS IN THE MORAL
AND MATERIAL WORLD.

DR. CHALMERS, in his work on the Romans, says: "There is a sort of vague, undefinable impression, we think, upon all spirits, of some great evolution of the present system under which we live—some looking towards, as well as longing after, immortality—some mysterious but yet powerful sense within every heart, of the present, as a state of confinement and thralldom; and that yet a day of light, and largeness, and liberty is coming. We cannot imagine of unbelievers, that they have any precise or perhaps confident anticipation on the subject, any more than the world at large had of the advent of our Messiah—though a very general expectation was abroad of the approaching arrival of some great personage upon earth. And, in like manner, there is abroad even now the dim and the distant vision of another advent of a brighter and blander period, that is now obscurely seen or guessed at through the gloom by which humanity is encompassed—a kind of floating anticipation, suggested, perhaps, by the experimental feeling that there is now the straitness of an oppressed and limited condition, and that still we are among the toils, and the difficulties, and the struggles of an embryo state of existence. It is altogether worthy of remark, that in like manner as through the various countries of the world there is a very wide impression of a primeval condition of virtue and blessedness from which we have fallen, so there seems a very wide expectation of the species being at length restored to the same health, and harmony, and loveliness as before. The vision of a golden age at some remote period of antiquity is not unaccompanied with the vision of a yet splendid and general revival of all things. Even apart from revelation there floats before the world's eye the brilliant perspective of this earth being yet covered with a righteous and a regenerated family. This is a topic on which even philosophy has its fascinating dreams; and there are philanthropists in our day who disown Christianity, and yet are urged forward to enterprise by the power and the pleasure of an anticipation so beautiful. They do not think of death; they only think of the moral and political glories of a renovated world, and of these glories as unfading. It is an immortality, after all, that they are picturing. While they look on that gospel which brought life and immortality to light as a fable, still they find that the whole capacity of their spirits is not filled unless they can regale them with the prospect of an immortality of

their own. Nothing short of this will satisfy them; and whether you look at those who speculate on the perfectibility of mankind, or those who think, in economic theories, that they are laying the basis on which might be reared the permanent happiness of nations, you see but the creature spurning at the narrowness of its present condition, and waiting in earnest expectancy for the manifestation of the sons of God."

These words speak for themselves. They are introduced as well for the high authority of the sentiments they contain as for their eloquence and beauty; and as opening an attractive vista to the thoughts and events to which the reader's attention is invited.

Hope, that passion of the human heart, or power of the mind, or both united, so indispensable to our every-day comfort, so needful to make our toils and struggles endurable, is ever urging us to look forward to the future. It either paints for the fascination of the mind's eye, with prismatic hues, the scenes which revelation has opened to our view, or in the wide blank of uncertain futurity it creates lovely scenes of its own. St. Paul asserts, that "we are saved by hope." Whether we shall ever enjoy, as precise realities, the splendid visions it unfolds in perspective, or shall find on a nearer view the gilded spots of the landscape, as we pass along, dimmed of their lustre, the influence of hope on our spirits is yet the same. It bears us patiently, or vigorously, or cheerfully onward, to the discharge of new duties; to the enjoyment of new privileges; to the endurance of new toils; to the encounter of new perils. The present only contents us for the passing moment; the future is made tolerable or pleasant by hope. Or, if the present, by unwelcome vexations, may with difficulty be borne, it is a merciful arrangement of a benevolent Providence, by which the mind turns with confidence to the future to rid it of its ills.

To a mind accustomed to close examination of evidence, and earnest in the pursuit of truth, the comfort derived from the expectations of futurity is in proportion to the reasonable probability on which such expectations rest. If promises of reward or of gratuity are held forth, the encouraging trust of realizing a fulfilment in due time depends on the proof which is obtained of the integrity and power of the source from which they emanate. Fancies, it may be, no less bright to the vision, often play before other minds, neither used to careful investigation nor anxious to ascertain what will be like to take place. There are myriads of men whose talents are buried in the earth; whose walk is not on the highway of honest and sober reflection; who are taking no pains so to improve the present that they may enhance the value of the future; who, nevertheless,

in the indolence of an intellectual sleep, dream golden dreams, which they hope to enjoy as waking realities, after the existing contest with evil shall end. It is true the feeling is a vague one, whether it relate to the anticipation of individual joys, or to the expectation of more general good to the race at large. But Christians—they who have adopted as their guide the word of authenticated revelation—have a better defined field of observation before them. They are not left to the ambiguity of impulsive and extravagant imagination, as the sole monitor of things to come, while threading their way through the straits and windings of this mortal career. A messenger, invested with the authority of a higher and diviner world, has been amongst them. "God manifested in the flesh" has tabernacled on earth, and spoken, "as never man spake." Besides accomplishing by the united agency of divine and human nature, in the joint person of the God-man, the glorious work of atonement, through which God can be just and yet the justifier of all who believe in Jesus, he has given lessons of profound wisdom to direct the movements of humanity through the intricacies of an evil state, and uttered predictions of events yet to come, with which the most splendid achievements of human sagacity, and the happiest condition "mortal ever dreamed of," may not compare. Besides the fresh predictions of future glory which Messiah announced during his earthly sojourn, he confirmed, by his reverent allusions, the divine authority with which Moses and the Jewish prophets wrote; thus making *their* promises his own, and stamping, with the indubitable seal of divinity, those visions of more than poetic beauty and bliss, which Isaiah and his inspired fellows had held up to awaken the hopes of mankind. From the time Jesus said, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead,"—if there had been any lack of evidence *before* to give a divine sanction to their words, which there had not been,—from that time the pictures which they alleged had been drawn by a divine hand upon the canvass of the world's future history, rely, for their truth and exactness, upon the authority of Jesus himself. And the same divine authority affixes its seal to the predictions which were *afterwards* uttered by the apostles—those holy men, upon whom he breathed, and to whom he said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." We are permitted, then, in the spirit of humble and docile disciples, to avail ourselves, for brightening our hopes, of all that prophetic illumination which centres in the Son of God, and radiates through those inspired men, both before and after his advent, who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

While "the times and the seasons," as well as the *precise* form of the fulfilment of the grand events to which they awaken our atten-

tion, are concealed from our view, a conspicuous outline of the general character of these events is yet given. It may be for the purpose of heightening the value of those circumstances with which the divine goodness designs to surround our ransomed race in the fulness of time, that this partial obscurity is kept up. If all the particulars of this map of approaching blessedness were minutely traced out, it would be invested with such an air of familiarity as would strip us of that wonder, and curiosity, and longing desire for the unenjoyed good, which yields us now so many a pleasant emotion, and which, giving place to the freshness of novelty, will add so much to the rapture of enjoyment. "It doth not yet appear *what* we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be *like him*, for we shall see him as he is." Amid the ambiguity of our anticipations, enough of certainty is afforded us to animate our hopes, and make us willing to substitute the renovated condition which is promised for the mixed state of good and evil which is endured. But on this side of the consummation of the promises of Christianity, *before* the unchangeable and immortal state shall be entered upon, there are predictions of a vast and glorious change in the aspect of society. A great enlargement of knowledge and piety is to take place on the earth. The time is coming when neighbour shall not say to neighbour, Knowest thou the Lord? but all shall know him, from the least unto the greatest. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. Righteousness shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the place of the great deep. Abundant prosperity shall attend the labours of the husbandman; and with gladness and gratitude shall men eat the fruits of the earth. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. They shall rejoice with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given to it—the excellency of Carmel and Sharon. The obscure and long-neglected regions of the globe shall be sought out, and exchange the grossness of barbarity for the refinement of civilization. The humane precepts of Christian kindness and forbearance shall enlighten the dark places of the earth which have been the habitations of cruelty. And instead of lust, and wars, and rumours of wars, love and peace shall prevail among individuals and nations; and they shall learn war no more.

Let us now look abroad at what is doing in the world. Let us see whether "the signs of the times" are favourable to the approach of that meliorated state of human history which we have been led to anticipate,—whether the tendency of current events in the moral and material world really opens to our view the prospect of the improved and elevated condition of mankind, indicated, as well by the

vague impressions and desultory fancies of the thoughtless and unconcerned, as by the more definite hopes of the serious and considerate.

That survey of the condition and prospects of human society is too limited which looks only at existing evils, and at the possibility of future relief. The whole ground of a probability of improvement cannot be taken into the estimate without comprehending a far wider field. In order to ascertain with what likelihood the expectation of removing present ills may be entertained, we must glance at the numerous ills of a by-gone age, and the vigour and success with which they have been encountered and overcome. The observing eye must fix itself upon the struggles and victories of successive generations in the past, in order to collect the data for a nice calculation of the future. If, indeed, the first half of the present century, which has just expired, has been crowded with startling facts, no less important than unexpected, so as almost to bewilder the imagination of living observers; we and our successors may draw a fair inference therefrom, that surprising, nay, overwhelming disclosures, changing in equal proportion the drift of human thoughts and habits, and quickening the speed of human operations, must not be regarded as impossible. Meantime such exhibitions of ingenuity as have already happened, and as are likely, in a ratio of geometrical progression, yet to happen, may be regarded rather as developing the power of man to carry forward the purposes of his being and destination, than as affecting the fundamental principles of his nature, or the desires of his heart. So that no new discoveries of the hitherto latent springs of physical force will, in any degree, lessen the wish and aptitude of the human species for increasing moral melioration and greater material comfort.

The world (including that part of mankind who have and profess neither love to Christ nor fear of God) and the Church (including all the other part) occupy peculiar relative positions, either to the other. While the two may be regarded as antagonist forces—as arrayed on opposite sides of the greatest practical question in morals, whether it is right and expedient to regard the Divine will as the highest rule of life or not—neither is ever insensible of a powerful influence which is wielded by the other. Few things are ever undertaken by the one, or by any of its individual members, without a considerable solicitude to know in what estimation these things are held by the other. Nor does this anxiety imply a renunciation of integrity of principle—an abandonment of allegiance to authority already acknowledged and submitted to, for allegiance to a hostile authority. It implies merely that outside of the by-laws and tech-

nical regulations by which either, for itself, holds itself to be bound; there are many *things lovely and of good report* which may not, without harm, be overlooked; and that none are so apt to detect a deficiency of accomplishment in these things as those whose attitude of hostility naturally hinders lenity and forbearance. The first of these parties aims solely at the well-being or enjoyment of the present life; the other connects the transient enjoyment of the present life with the ever-during enjoyment of a future, and is careful to make no sacrifices to the demands of passion here, which might mar the prospect of greater good hereafter.

Our Saviour has not left his disciples without the sanction of his divine wisdom, in looking to the successful achievements of the children of the world in their own sphere of operations, as a stimulus to greater diligence and activity. And we should lose much of the force of this lesson if we failed to calculate the impulse which mere worldly enterprise has given, and which it is destined yet to give, to the kindly aggressive movements of the Church, in performing its mission of mercy. In this way may the spirit of rivalry, so natural to the heart of man, so difficult, perhaps impossible, to be wholly eradicated from it, find an ample and glorious field for the exercise of its largest powers. To a no less important use are the labours of *the world* to be turned by the vigilance of *the Church*, in the grand project of abating the evils, both moral and physical, which lie in its path. It so happens, that many of the enterprises which are undertaken for the purpose of abetting the convenience and the comfort of mankind, are not so exclusively confined to the acknowledged domains of either of these great parties, as to deprive the other of a share both of the labour and the benefit. And while it must be admitted that the vicious spirit of the former, invariably tends to corrupt whatever it touches or has to do with, it must also be conceded, that the pure influence of the latter exerts a restorative power upon every person and society in the range of its operations. Which of the two counteracting forces is destined ultimately to predominate over the affections and habits of the race, and conquer the globe as a field of undisputed occupation, is the very theme of our present inquiry. To those of us whose hopes are strong in the gracious promises of revelation, the risks of the remaining conflict present no appalling aspect. With the utmost composure can we survey the positions and outposts of the embattled legions, and form our conclusions as to the issue of the struggle; and this, too, with so much the more freedom from anxiety, as designs of good to the vanquished are so deeply lodged in the bosom of the Church.

Among the things of which the people of the world take an im-

portant part, and which are made auxiliary to the furtherance of the gospel, *commerce* and its great ally, *facility of travel*, are to be taken largely into the account. In respect to both of these, the improvements of the present century have been immense. Since its commencement the circle of commercial reciprocity has been vastly enlarged, and the rate of locomotion has been almost miraculously increased. The primitive branch of the Anglo-Saxon family, so long the commercial mistress of the world, has kept its place in advance of old, and new, and zealous competition. Our own branch of the same family, partaking the spirit and activity of the original stock, though still somewhat in the rear of British enterprise, bids fair to lead the way in this busy rivalry. Most of the inferior commercial States, allured by our splendid success, are bestirring themselves with redoubled diligence. Russia, the Dutch, France, Turkey, and China, are expanding the markets of the world by new and more energetic movements. And the eyes of the curious and the enterprising are intent upon the discovery of the secrets of science and wealth hidden in distant regions long unexplored. The unworked and undug treasures of Africa and Australia are already beginning to swell the list of the great prospective assessment which is to be levied for the comfort and the luxury of the four quarters of the globe. New and ingenious machinery is, time after time, improving the quality and value of old fabrics, and multiplying, to an almost incredible degree, the elements of trade. And, such is the cupidity of man, the demands for other means of indulging his desires and supplying his wants increase in exact proportion to the frequency of their gratification. The necessities of commerce, as well as the desires of mankind to widen their sphere of observation and intercourse, are constantly suggesting new and swifter methods of locomotion. It is barely requisite to refer to this great fact, so distinguishing to the character of the present generation, in order to bring into view all its magnitude and importance. Such have already been the mighty results of mechanical genius applying itself to this branch of labour, that journeys of thousands of miles are now performed in less time than a century ago would have been taken to travel as many hundreds. And the electric speed with which news is transmitted between any given points, however distant, which are connected merely by a metal string, is awaking the inquiry in the active minds of the day, whether masses of matter may not be propelled with a somewhat similar rapidity; whether a costly freight, with its attendant supercargo, may not be despatched to the market, where it is already sold, at nearly, if not quite the same rate at which an etherial agent went to make the

bargain. In very deed, the men who are favoured with a birth in this *golden age* are witnesses to the fulfilment of Shakspeare's prophetic words,

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in *your* philosophy."

How long the secret of air-navigation—a secret in possession of millions of the feathered tribe during thousands of years—shall keep itself hid from the scrutiny of an age which has invaded the lightning's sanctuary, and led captive the *primum mobile* of material nature, the future will unfold. The power of elevating and sustaining aloft, for considerable periods of time, vessels of imposing dimensions has been long known and practised. The facility of steering and moving these vessels at the joint will of a helmsman and engineer, awaits only the unlocking of a few more modes of motive power. The power already is proven to exist. To get it within the grasp of human ingenuity is the only part of the problem remaining to be solved, before fleets laden with cargoes and men shall plunge into the hazardous element above us and outstrip the tardy motions of steam, which are now frisking so merrily across the briny deep, as far as the flight of "the falcon, towering in his pride of place," exceeds the trot of the elephant or the gallop of the steed. We do not utter this as prophecy; but such further practical demonstration of the forces lodged in the arcana of tangible nature around us will not be a whit more astounding to us or our successors, than the present operations of steam and electricity would have been to our progenitors of the eighteenth century. Scores of comforts and conveniences have ever lain unenjoyed within the reach of mankind. Difficulties, it is true, have generally hedged them about; but these difficulties have yielded their long-forbidden treasures to the ardent desire and determined will and earnest efforts of man awakened to a knowledge of his power, and athirst for nobler enjoyment.

Achievements in physics, as well as in morals, seem to lie within certain spheres prescribed by the creative hand. Faith, or confidence of the possibility of success, is a necessary preliminary and adjunct to successful labour in either. It is very true, indeed, that impracticable schemes in both, without any other foundation than the visions of overheated imagination, have been attempted and have failed. And the past would cease to afford any index to the future, if in the time to come similar experiments should never be made. It would, however, be bad philosophy and economy too, to suffer these "baseless fabrics of a vision" to deter sober minds from those grand exploits which are likely to illustrate yet further the power of genius

and of faith. Without controversy we must expect, as a matter of entire probability, that the goodly price which recent success has paid to the confident and active labours of ingenious mechanism, will offer a boon which cannot fail to stimulate to the highest degree of intensity the intelligent and resolute workers of the present and a coming age. And with the most reverent use of the words of Holy Writ, are we warranted, by what has already occurred, in believing that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things" which are yet to be discovered and enjoyed in the possibilities of surrounding nature.

Not to anticipate too eagerly the competition of the balloon with the eagle in graceful and rapid flight through the azure firmament, let us admit into our meditations the projects of merchants, statesmen, and topographers, for the enlargement of human happiness—projects which are based upon the certain ground of successful experiment—projects which are only the repeated continuous application of mechanical organization already in use.

It is now in contemplation by many of the leading spirits of this republic to traverse the wide plains between the Mississippi and the Pacific by a highway and railroad. Nothing stands in the way of reducing this splendid idea to reality but a national resolve *to do it*, or to confer a charter of permission, with a slip of vacant land, upon an enterprising citizen. Ocean steamers are paddling regularly every week between Europe and our eastern shores. Similar vehicles of rapid transmission are connecting the Sandwich Isles with our western shores. Commerce is already calling for an extension of this route from the Sandwich Islands to China. It is hardly probable that twelve months twice told will pass before these packets will be plying between the bay of Canton and the bay of Francisco. A railway or ship-canal across the isthmus of Suez—a project already in earnest contemplation in Europe—is all that will be wanting to complete a belt of steam travel, not very far from being a direct line around the globe. A *perfectly* direct line of highway, crossing the continent of Asia from east to west, will be regarded as a commercial desideratum not long to be postponed.

Happy for the spiritual prospects of our species it is, that all these gigantic conveniences of intercommunication between tribes and nations, created for the purpose of exchanging material commodities, and thus ministering to the gratification of luxury, or to the relief of pressing want—that all these gigantic conveniences of intercommunication should bring the Bible, and the Sabbath, and the preaching of the gospel, into the dark regions of heathenism and idolatry—that the flash of the engine's fires, and the roar of its impetuous

speed shall bear along with them the heavenly light of truth, and the loud and distinct call, "Come, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth." Faith cometh by *hearing*, and hearing by *the word* of God. To come in contact with the heralds and ambassadors who are commissioned to utter it, is needful, in order to the production of its appropriate fruits. For centuries insuperable obstacles have interposed between those who have possessed the advantage of the oracles of God and those who have been perishing for lack of knowledge. The concealed and cruel devices of the prince of this world have long hedged in the habitations of his too willing subjects with barriers which have too effectually obstructed all intercourse with others favoured with more light and liberty. It is lamentable, indeed, that so much of the earth's surface should, through such a series of ages, have been subjugated and oppressed by this gloomy despotism. But the time for a general revolt—for an universal uprising against that dark and cruel sceptre—would seem to be not far off; avenues of communication and approach are steadily and rapidly opening into the heart of heathen territory, through which are to issue hosts of Christian warriors, strong in the strength of their invincible Captain, and fraught with every implement to aid the oppressed millions to throw off their yoke, and assert the rights and privileges of redeemed men.

In the work of diffusing evangelical knowledge and its regenerating influence throughout the wide regions of idolatry, in different quarters of the world, it would be contradicting well-established facts to deny that great conquests have yet to be achieved. With many encouraging exceptions skirting the coast of Africa, vast portions of its sun-burnt territory are still blackened by a far more desolating barbarism. And over the outstretching plains of Asia—the *officina virorum* of the human race—the oriental garden, perfumed with fragrant spices—the site at once of man's earliest being and of his earliest sin, the spirit of disaffection to the sovereignty of almighty grace still wields a potent sceptre. But there, too, many a strong post has been carried by the arms of the cross, and over many of its most fertile fields the Christian banner spreads its ample folds.

Counting the number of years that Christianity has been "afield" against its numerous and resolute foes, and comparing the conquests of territory gained with those which are yet to be gained ere every antagonist "principality and power" shall be subdued to the truth, it would be both a dull and unscientific calculation to suppose that a *proportionate length of time* must still elapse, before all the people, and the nations, and the kingdoms of the earth shall be subjected to the dominion of the Saviour. To dispel the illusion of so common

but erroneous an estimate, we must take into the account, as overbalancing the opposite probabilities, the immense experience which the tedious toils and desperate struggles on the enemy's ground have added to the strength of our ranks. It must also be borne in mind, that in the invasion of an enemy's territory every success inspirits the aggressor, and proportionately disheartens the foe; and that when a firm foothold has been obtained, furnishing a radiating centre for convenient hostile excursions; and much more, when such radiating centres are so multiplied as to alarm the apprehension and distract the attention of the force which at first concentrated its efforts and vaunted in the confidence of an easy triumph, the work of finishing the aggressive onset, or of completing the victory, is comparatively light. This is precisely the relative situation of Christianity in view of the hostile moral forces of the world which remain to be subdued.

Christianity has fought its way from the smallest and most discouraging outset to large conquests and very commanding positions. It numbers among its votaries the mightiest and most civilized nations of the earth. The people who, at this day, are most renowned for arts and arms, whose explorations in science and enterprises in commerce have surpassed the energies and the skill of every competitor, unfold to the admiring gaze of millions of spectators as the most auspicious insignia of their escutcheon, the LION and the CROSS; at the same time, that they are the most busy, and the most successful in conveying to distant realms the precious realities of which those insignia are the symbols. And while England, the presiding genius of the *eastern* hemisphere, whose dominions, domestic and colonial, extend so far that the sun never sets upon them, and whose political influence is as dominant as its commercial, is alike active in diffusing Christian principles at home and abroad, America, the junior branch of the same great family, holding the same position of relative importance in the *western* hemisphere, is active too, according to the ratio of its advancement in the qualities which adorn and the virtues which strengthen the civilized state: at the same time, the feebler and less enterprising, but yet the mighty and the enterprising secondary powers of Europe, except a single state, and all the states on our side of the Atlantic, except the vagrant aboriginal tribes, whose very being is held by a precarious tenure, boast of their right to the Christian name. Such is the ascendancy of Christian nations at this very day, that their united voice on any question affecting the political welfare of the world would hush into silence every pagan murmur of dissent. With this reckoning on the balance sheet of the probable future, the hopes which revelation inspires may well be cheerful.

There are two prominent historical events pertaining to our age and country, very different, indeed, in the sensations which they have excited, yet bearing with great weight upon the destinies of the two continents, Asia and Africa, which supply the largest fields for the further extension of civilization and Christianity. The first of these events is the perplexed and perplexing question of negro slavery existing in the southern part of the United States. The second is, the hitherto unheard-of rapidity with which a long hidden and lately developed source of wealth has brought into existence a new and important State on our Pacific coast, giving, at the same time, by its vicinity, a fresh impulse to the energies of the Oregon settlements, which are probably destined to take rank in future political and commercial usefulness with California itself. As already intimated, this occupation of the extreme western limits of our extended territory, which is now busily arranging a swift transit across the entire breadth of the continent, is pointing to a frequent and steady communication between the United States and China—a great Christian and a great pagan nation—a communication which is indispensable to that interchange of commodities which the increasing wants of mankind, in an era of progressive civilization, imperiously demand.

Difficult as is the solution of the problem which the first of these prominent events holds forth, yet we think the principle of its solution is not wholly obscured from our view when looked at through the medium of those declarations and promises of the mighty Arbiter of nations which He has vouchsafed to open to us in the inspired record of his will. We are there informed that it is in just such perplexities as this, whether in individual or national history,—when the boasted wisdom of man is at a stand; when the web of his ingenuity is hopelessly tangled; when, whether his pride will acknowledge it or not, it is apparent to all observers, that he knows not what to do,—it is just then that the Father of mercies stoops to aid his impotence and clear away the obstructions from his path.

At a time when the bosom of the nation is still heaving with emotion from the excitement of an intense strife between conflicting parties on a kindred topic, or rather on a certain aspect of this very topic, instead of any *proposition* which might tend to renew the strife and keep up the excitement, it may not be amiss to take a hasty glance at a few of the leading facts which the topic includes, and to see whether some hopeful inference may not fall within the range of vision likely to augment our confidence in His overruling wisdom, and goodness, and power, who “makes the wrath of man to praise him, and restrains the remainder of it.”

There are now under the civil and religious influence of this

Christian nation between two and three millions of the descendants of African parents. Without stopping to take into view the mixed feelings of avarice and recklessness of human suffering which had to do with the forcible abduction of the ancestors of these millions from kindred, and home, and country, with all the pleasant associations which the most degrading barbarism cannot destroy, and with their subjection to severe and unaccustomed labour in a foreign land, under the rigid discipline of the planters on our Atlantic coast, it is not to be denied that, to the extent of these two or three millions, there are so many of the sons and daughters of Africa rescued from the hideous barbarity and shameless idolatry of their fatherland. It is not to be denied, that this great multitude of men, and women, and children, (inferior as is their social condition to the European descendants around them,) have, to quite a respectable extent, been polished by contact and intercourse with superior manners and enlightened piety. It is not to be denied that the Americanized African finds the climate and the soil of his ancestral home an abode congenial to his nature and his wants,—that under the warmer suns of the country of Ham, where the white man faints and dies, the American negro lives and thrives. It is matter of history, that under the patronage of a benevolent association in America a promising republic of colonized negroes has within a few years sprung up on the shores of Africa—that with more than the wonted success which has accompanied the growth of states having a colonial origin, the new Americo-African empire is increasing in importance, in all the modes of political prosperity, in agricultural industry and production, in commerce, in piety, in literature, and in the culture of peaceful relations with the neighbouring tribes, and offering to them the benefit of its power to improve and elevate their condition. It is alike beyond dispute, that it has advanced with vastly greater celerity in all these respects than did the first British colonies in America, the forerunners of our great republic, within the same space of time.

With strong hopes and unshaken confidence in the perpetuated union of these States as at once an asylum for the oppressed and a beacon for the guidance of the world, and as yet in the dark as to the methods to which political wisdom will resort to give back to a benighted quarter of the earth its exiled sons, and however patiently the desires of the philanthropist may have to wait amid sectional jealousies and acrimonious struggles ere it witness this “consummation, so devoutly to be wished,” we cannot but anticipate its occurrence, as most likely to be suggested to our rulers, as the best arrangement for both the dominant and the subjugated race. We

cannot but look for the deepening conviction, as events glide along, that the crippled energies and depressed prosperity of the sections where the proprietors of the soil rely upon the labours of those whose bondage is an inevitable clog to forethought, and industry, and enterprise, can find no relief so effectual as loosening the bonds and letting the oppressed go free to the home of their fathers and their brethren. Contrary, too, to much narrow-minded prejudice, and to many short-sighted calculations of interest, it is gratifying to believe that this view of probable events is beginning to be entertained by leading American statesmen and patriots; and that the project before congress, of a line of ocean steamers to ply between Liberia and this country, will be an important step toward the accomplishment of this grand design. And to do away, as far as possible, with an unwelcome use of power in compelling the gradual emigration of so many people from our shores, the prospects are daily brightening that the fertile soil of Ethiopia will furnish as many attractions to the oppressed in the United States, as our own rich plains and valleys furnish to the oppressed in continental Europe, and in Great Britain and Ireland. So that, after all, the beneficent wisdom of Him who educes "good from evil," is likely in the issue to pour into a benighted land a stream of civil and religious influence of great power, which a protracted bondage in a distant realm had been preparing for the work. How rejoicing to every humble believer's heart the persuasion, that the centrifugal force of our Southern slavery, no less than the centripetal force of Californian gold, is appropriately working in the system of moral harmonies, and tending to the more rapid and certain triumph of Christianity over the whole earth!

There are many relevant facts of recent date and continuous existence which might well be interwoven in an essay on the tendency of current events in the moral and material world. Among these might be enumerated the Evangelical Alliance—a great convention of Protestant Christians, held in London, in 1846, for the arrangement of a better understanding between the various branches of the Church; and a correlative project in political circles, receiving, we would fain trust, more and more consideration year after year, for the institution of a common centre of arbitration between the different nations, by which a peaceful instead of a military adjustment of all national disputes may be made. These, and a multitude of inferior, though important topics of meditation might be well introduced; and they may yet be the basis of another and similar argument. At present we forbear taxing further the patience of our readers.

ART. VI.—RECENT EDITIONS OF THE ANTIGONE OF
SOPHOKLES.

[FIRST PAPER.]

1. *Sophoclis Antigonæ Codicum MSS. omniumque Exemplarium scripturæ discrepantia enotata integra, cum Scholiis vetustis, Virorumque doctorum curis presse subnotatis, emendatio atque explicatio edita a FR. CAROLO WEX.* 2 vols., 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1829, 1831.
2. *Ad Sophoclis Tragædias Annotationes* GULIELMI DINDORFII. 8vo. Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1836.
3. *Des Sophokles Antigone, Griechisch und Deutsch, herausgegeben von AUGUST BOECKH.* 8vo. Berlin. 1843.
4. *Sophoclis Tragædiæ.* Recensuit et explanavit EDUARDUS WUNDERUS. Vol. I., Sect. IV. Continens Antigonam. Editio tertia multis locis emendata. Gothæ et Erfordiæ. 1846.
5. *Sophoclis Tragædiæ superstites ex recensione G. DINDORFII.* Editio secunda emendatio. Oxonii. 1849.
6. *The Antigone of Sophokles, in Greek and English.* With an Introduction and Notes by J. W. DONALDSON, B. D. London. 1848.
7. *Adolphi Imperii Opuscula Philologica et Historica amicorum studio collecta edidit F. G. SCHNEIDEWIN.* Gottingæ. 1847.
8. *The Antigone of Sophocles.* With Notes, for the use of colleges in the United States, by T. D. WOOLSEY, President of Yale College. Boston. 1852.

SO MUCH during the last twenty years has been effected for the literature of the Antigone of Sophokles, that we consider no apology due to our readers for calling attention to a brief critical investigation of those more important and valuable editions which are placed at the head of this article. We have no hesitation in confessing at the outset that our principal aim will be to defend, as far as we are able, the traditionary and manuscript readings from being entirely overwhelmed by that rage for conjectural criticism which we shall find, as we proceed, too frequent occasion to notice and rebuke. Whilst condemning, however, the licentious extravagance of those commentators whose design apparently is to shine as authors rather than as editors, we frankly concede that the established proprieties of form, sense, syntax, and metre must not be surrendered too hastily to the fluctuating authority of manuscripts so mutilated and corrupt as those of Æschylos and Sophokles; and that, in instances too numerous to mention, the whole learned world has had abundant reason to rejoice in the beneficial results which have followed acute and rightly regulated criticism. Still we believe that, other things being equal, the tenacity with which the best manuscript authority is adhered to, the ability with which the accuracy of the old readings is vindicated and upheld, the success with which intentional ob-

security, scholastic subtlety of allusion, and bold strokes of diction or metaphor are elucidated and confirmed, will furnish us with the best criteria we can hope to attain of the precise merits of each book we are now about to review. We assume it to be undisputed by all who are competent to form an opinion on the subject, that there are but three sources to which a discreet editor of any classical author can resort for the restoration of a corrupt or imperfect text:—the MSS. copies, citations in the old lexicographers and grammarians, and the commentaries of the scholiasts. How slight an influence the remembrance of a fact, whose truth is apparent on the surface, has exerted upon the minds of recent critics, must have attracted the notice and stirred the indignation of all who are familiar with their labours. To state that many of them employ the text of the classics as a mere “paxillus” on which to suspend some “novam hæresim,” in the shape of the so-called “higher criticism,” or lengthened disquisitions upon laws, customs, arts, domestic life, philosophy, in a word, upon everything that is foreign to their own proper task of throwing light upon the *language* of the Greeks, (by far the most important occupation of the scholar,) is to affirm what is true of almost every commentary that in these later days has reached our hands. To assert, again, that many evince as much anxiety to illustrate their own skill in that which has been termed the “much neglected art of emendation,” and busy themselves in attempting, with a measure of success that corresponds but poorly with their energy and zeal, to prove their own judgment, taste, and mastery of the language to be infinitely superior to those of their author, is to advance an accusation which they would hardly care to repel, *οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνῃ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον*. In these respects, as in many others, the work which we have placed *last* upon our list deserves our marked and especial commendation; and we most heartily wish that all succeeding editors, who have profited by the former labors of Prof. Woolsey to a much greater extent than the learned public are aware, had imitated the caution and conscientiousness with which he invariably treats all suggestions of alteration. We have neither space nor inclination to display to our readers how greatly such criticisms as “locus valde corruptus,” “aliquid turbatum,” “hoc vocabulum pro additamento imperiti librarii habendum,” “error librarii,” and the like, have multiplied since the publication, at Oxford, in 1826, of Elmsley’s collation of the readings and scholia of the best Sophoklean MS. (we mean that generally known as the Codex Laurentianus A);—every such observation being, of course, the precursor of some fresh “attempt at emendation.” Nor does this folly seem likely to

suffer an immediate abatement: for the wisdom of the course pursued by Mr. Badham in his recent edition of the *Helena* and *Iphigenia in Tauri* has been endorsed in high places; and in the last edition of our play, that of Mr. Donaldson, no less than a hundred and thirteen alterations, of which more than thirty are his own, have been inserted in the text. We by no means seek unjustly to detract from the general value of his book. Some of his translations are ingenious; many of his criticisms, although somewhat too much in the "Sir Oracle" style, both useful and profound; and we have ample reason to believe his own assurance in the preface:

"T is not the hasty product of a day,
But the well-ripen'd fruit of wise delay."

The text of Mr. Dindorf, whose edition can alone claim the distinction of being a new recension of the text of Sophokles, besides retaining a great number of unnecessary conjectures of Brunck, is distinguished, beyond all others, by its perpetual and profligate deviations from the authorized readings; whilst his commentary, which does little or nothing in the way of enlightened criticism or explanation of his author, abounds in still more numerous proposals of emendation—many of them so hastily conceived as to furnish convincing proof that he is far more ready to assume the existence of interpolation, than to ascertain, by careful comparison and investigation, the exact value and authority of manuscript evidence. The edition of Mr. Wex, undoubtedly the most complete, is highly valuable, not only as containing the results of all that has been done for the elucidation of our play up to the time of its publication, but for some original and very meritorious criticism of his own. Its greatest error is, perhaps, the diffuseness of its commentary; in reply to which it may reasonably be urged, that it has been prepared as a manual for the scholar rather than the student, and that fulness is, in this view, preferable to obscure brevity. We are disposed to pronounce the edition of Mr. Wunder as likely to prove, next to that of Prof. Woolsey, the most serviceable and acceptable to the bulk of our students. It affords us indeed the highest pleasure to offer our testimony to the very great obligations under which he has placed every lover of Sophokles by the preparation of his edition, not only of this, but also of all the remaining plays of our poet; and we rejoice that the rapid succession of new editions, and their very extensive circulation both in England and Germany, supply signal and conclusive proof of the high appreciation with which his labours are regarded. We must notice in terms of especial approbation the compression of his notes. It is their distinguishing excellence to

have hit the right mean between too much and too little, contrasting in this respect, very favourably with the reputation which English annotation has acquired for prolixity, and which, judging from the book of Mr. Donaldson, it seems determined to retain. We cannot, on the other hand, refrain from observing, that a more precise rendering of the words of the poet would sometimes be preferable to the periphrasis of his thought which is given in its place; and that many verbal interpretations, which can readily be obtained from any good lexicon, might be advantageously omitted. There is also too much translation, if we may be permitted to regard his book as designed chiefly for the upper classes of the school-room. We indeed agree most thoroughly in opinion with Mr. Donaldson, that nothing is wanted by the tyro who enjoys the advantage of oral instruction from a competent teacher, except a good text of the author he is reading; but as the majority of those who profess to teach Greek are themselves unfortunately destitute of the requisite appliances for communicating a thorough knowledge of this most difficult poet, we are unfeignedly rejoiced that their pupils may obtain, at an extremely moderate cost, the results of long and careful study by a scholar who is, to say the least, both learned and accurate. The value of the book would have been materially enhanced by the addition of a brief development of the idea which lies at the foundation of the tragedy, and of which it is to be considered the artistic realization. It is no small recommendation of the work of Prof. Woolsey,

— μικρὸς μὲν ἔὼν δέμας ἀλλὰ μαχητής,

that it is adorned with a concise and carefully written analysis, not merely of the *οἰκονομία* of the play, but also of the impressions created by its perusal, and the important advantage of a distinct and luminous apprehension of their origin and character insured to his readers.

Before addressing ourselves to the task more immediately before us, a few observations upon the subject to which we have just alluded, and upon some other considerations in connexion with this drama, will not, we trust, be wholly unacceptable to our readers. Without denying the right of every individual to express his own subjective opinion upon the ethical ground-work of this tragedy, unquestionably not far removed from that which still keenly agitates the breasts of mankind,—we mean the antagonism between the duty of obedience to the positive ordinances of the constituted authority of a State, and the duty of obedience to that still higher law of religious and family piety, whose seat is not in the written parchment, but in the consciences of men,—we must still caution the student

that all such opinions must not usurp the name of real criticism, or be regarded as of universally acknowledged and binding authority. And it is from this circumstance that we derive our justification in venturing to express, with that degree of self-distrust which is becoming, our dissent from the view of those eminent scholars, who seem inclined to favour the notion that the self-sacrificing death of Antigone, purely on account of her sublime intrepidity in standing forth, like some early Christian martyr, as the defendant of the higher law, and the punishment of her murderer for his cruel and contemptuous disregard of all that Greece and humanity held holy, is the fundamental thought which was present to the mind of the poet, and evoked the sympathies of his Athenian audience. We need scarcely remind our readers that the burial of the dead, although imperatively required at the hands of surviving relatives and friends, in order that the soul of the departed might obtain a peaceful entrance to the mansions of Hades, was, nevertheless, in the heroic age frequently forbidden by the conqueror, in wars especially that were attended with unusual exasperation of feeling, or were undertaken for purposes of vengeance. Taking, then, our standpoint from the period referred to, can it be denied that, in conformity with Greek usage, no less than with that principle of Greek ethics which enjoined unflinching vengeance upon the enemy of the State, Kreon was abundantly justified in promulgating his edict that the remains of the man who had led the Argive array against Thebes should be deprived of the honours of a tomb? So far there can be no doubt that his conduct was consistent with precedent and the authority he held. His *fault* consists in his forgetfulness of the fact that Polyneikes was, after all, his near kinsman,—in the intemperate passion with which a one-sided view of his duty as a ruler hurries him onward to a complete disregard of far higher and holier behests,—in the immovable and obdurate rejection of the subdued and respectful warnings of the chorus, the impressive and sublime justification of Antigone, the calm and dignified intercession of Hæmon, as the exponent of the unanimous opinions of the citizens,—in the mental blindness engendered by his dogmatism, and the absurd persuasion that those who differ from his opinions must necessarily be hypocrites or traitors,—in the fierce and unmeasured denunciations he heaps upon the watchmen, the murmuring citizens, the guileless Ismene,—in his unnatural treatment of Hæmon, and frantic invectives against Teiresias, the representative of the gods. It is, in fact, the self-will and unmeasured passion with which Kreon strives to maintain and enforce an edict not tyrannical or illegal in itself, that overwhelms him in ruin.

The same faults, although less in degree, are also perceptible in the conduct of Antigone. Animated by the most pure and sisterly affection for the deceased Polyneikes, and strong in the consciousness that she is intent upon a deed whose fulfilment is a duty alike to the departed and to the infernal gods, she wholly overlooks the fact that the counter-resolution of Kreon admits in its turn of reciprocal justification. Taking at the outset an attitude of uncompromising antagonism to the ruler of Thebes, she denounces him as a foe and a tyrant; in all he does, discerns evidence only of cruel and rancorous hostility; disdains the suggestions of milder counsels, of leaving the burial of her brother to the care of the gods; rushes into the opposite extreme, (ἐπ' ἔσχατον θράσους,) and repels with words of haughty loathing the affectionate pleadings of her sister, that she would remember the ancient evils of her house, the prescribed limits of her station and sex, the duty of obedience. With unmaidenly violence and impetuosity she glories in the manifestation of her opposition to Kreon, exasperates him still more by her scorn, courts death without one thought of her sister, her lover, or her own real inferiority to that "goddess-born" stranger, with whose most piteous death she identifies her own. From these, and numerous other facts which we forbear to specify, the inference seems to us unavoidable, that no Athenian hearer could have supposed it the intention of the poet to represent Antigone, who, in speaking of her own deed, calls it "a pious *crime*," as entirely free from guilt; but rather, that in her case, no less than in that of Kreon, the φρενῶν δυσφρόνων ἀμαρτήματα were the direct and real cause of her destruction.

In the same way, moreover, the death of Hæmon, in a large degree attributable to the violence and scorn of his father, is nevertheless exhibited as really his own act, and deserving reprehension. With admirable moderation and self-control, and from wise prudential and political considerations, he had opposed the destruction, without bringing prominently into view his own love for Antigone; but failing of success, with dark, vague threatenings, which excite anew the furious resolutions of the monarch, he hurries away, and avenges his disappointment by the fatal ἀφροσύνη of a suicidal death.

From these considerations, then, we think it will be hardly doubted by our readers that the tragic pivot in the Antigone is not so much the strife of the principles of government and duty abstractedly considered, as the collision of divine with human law in the motives which impelled the conduct of two persons of self-willed and passionate natures.

So far, then, with respect to the ethical basis of this tragedy.

Let us now direct our attention to the external and political influences, which, at the period of its production, must have produced no small impression upon the mind of its author, and are, as we believe, the subject of constant and multiplied reference in the plot no less than in the diction and sentiments of the play. From the testimony of Strabo, Suidas, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and other sources of information, there seems no reason to question the statement that the *Antigone* was exhibited shortly before the outbreak of the Samian war; and that the public enthusiasm with which it was received, led to the nomination of Sophokles as one of the ten generals appointed to conduct hostilities against that island. Hence the important inquiry, What could have procured for Sophokles a reward so different from that usually paid to the successful competitor in a mere dramatic contest? Can we suppose that this was due solely and entirely to the poetical superiority of his drama, or shall we not find, upon a closer investigation of the circumstances of the times, that reasons of a far different nature must have inspired the minds of his countrymen when they conferred upon him so extraordinary a distinction?

The early youth of Sophokles (born about B. C. 496) was spent in that exciting and buoyant period when Athens passed so resplendently through the fiery ordeal of the first and second Persian invasions; and when upon its young democracy had first dawned that idea of a higher and nobler destiny, which, coinciding with the sudden expansion of their maritime activity and the overthrow of the Peisistratidæ, was to open up a new career for themselves and their country. His later youth and ripening manhood belonged to those stormy times in which Athens, fully aroused to the consciousness of its strength, broke down the supremacy of the long dominant Sparta, pursued its victories abroad with untiring energy, converted the *Ægean* into an Attic lake, and acquired supreme dominion over numerous cities on the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor. This extraordinary development of its foreign power, with which we must closely associate the no less surprising progress of liberal opinions at home, the consolidation of the power of the democracy, and the general diffusion of comfort, intellectual culture and art, was effected in spite of the most bitter party conflicts and opposition of almost every description. At the head of the movement or progress-party stood Themistokles, the victor of Salamis, whose intuitive sagacity and far-sighted views of foreign policy led him to press the adoption of every means which could insure for Athens ascendancy at sea, obtain her recognition as head and protectress of the Greeks of the islands and Asiatic cities, and by fleets and colonies secure for her citizens at home a life radiant with delights and replete with every

earthly enjoyment. His opponents, on the other hand, that grand conservative party, whose leader was Aristides, and whose inspired priest-poet was the tragedian Æschylos, viewed with strong disapprobation all these and similar projects, declaimed earnestly against the supposed necessity of augmenting their naval force, and sought rather to convert their country into a strong land-power, which, standing aloof from the perils and vicissitudes necessarily attached to schemes of more extended dominion, should remain peacefully contented with the acquisitions it had already won. The conflict was maintained with varying success until Themistokles succumbed to the oligarchical party, who were mainly indebted for their triumph to the military exploits, splendid liberality, and personal popularity of Kimon. The victory thus attained was, however, of short duration; for as Kimon had overthrown Themistokles so he and his party were, in their turn, compelled to submit to the rising influence of Perikles, who, equally great as statesman, orator, and commander, acquired and exercised power solely through and for the benefit of the people. In the year 440, in the early spring of which Sophokles produced the *Antigone*, Perikles, by devoting his eloquence to the promotion of the general good, by a munificent but judicious expenditure of the surplus revenues in the fortification and sculptural and architectural embellishments of the city, by the celebration of magnificent games and religious festivals, by his brilliantly successful labours for the enlargement of the political influence of Athens, his thoughtful and disinterested care for the liberties and material well-being of all classes of the citizens, had just succeeded in breaking down that great and firmly united aristocratical party which, under Thukydides, son of Melesias, had so long opposed and embarrassed his movements. How decisive was his victory is shown, not merely by the circumstance that we hear, during the remaining career of Perikles, of no other individual really formidable as a leader of opposition, but also by the fact that the great statesman suffered his fallen adversary to be recalled, and to be subsequently sent with two colleagues to his assistance in the war against Samos.

We have thus attempted to present to our readers some of the more salient and general features of the times of the *Antigone*, and, in especial, to indicate the profound influence which the immense expansion of trade and navigation, the rapid succession of dazzling conquests abroad, the triumphs and constitutional consolidation of the power of the democracy at home, the embellishment of public and private life with every adornment of art, luxury, and learning, and the splendour of that patriotic oratory which created and sustained the widely-diffused and magnificent public spirit of the Periklean

age, must have exerted upon the mind of every imaginative and cultivated Athenian. Alas! that amidst all the grandeur and glory of the scene, his countrymen's injustice and tyranny abroad, their insatiable ambition and inordinate love of enjoyment at home, their ungrateful depreciation of the disinterested purity of the great statesman, whose eloquence, sagacity, and victories had contributed so largely to the ascendancy of their city, should reveal to his gaze the first germs of decay.

In the sixth year of the thirty years' truce, (B. C. 440-439,) the Milesians, having been vanquished by the Samians in a contest respecting the possession of the little town of Priene, implored help of Athens, among whose tributary allies they had been previously enrolled. Their prayer was seconded by some Samian democrats, who had been banished from their homes by the power of the oligarchical faction then dominant in that island. Samos was, at this epoch, next to Athens, the most important naval power in the *Ægean*, and threatened, by a slight extension of its fleet, to become a dangerous and formidable opponent of Athenian ascendancy. The Athenians required the contending parties to refer their dispute to arbitration at Athens—a behest with which Samos refused to comply. In this dilemma Perikles was compelled to choose between the immediate humiliation of Samos, and the abandonment of the policy which Athens had hitherto invariably pursued with respect to her allies. His decision could not be doubtful; war against Samos was felt to be an imperious necessity, and an armament decreed to be despatched to the island. Among the opponents of his administration, however, men were not wanting who attributed the war to a wholly different motive, with which Perikles was directly and personally interested. That gifted and accomplished female, whose name is still recognised as the ideal of all that is externally lovely and graceful in woman, Aspasia, the friend and counsellor of Perikles, was a native of Miletos. Who could doubt that she had exerted the whole weight of her personal influence over the mind and heart of the great Athenian in favour of her countrymen? How plausible the assumption, that no motives of political foresight or anxiety for the interests of the State, but love and compliance with the prayers of so beautiful a petitioner, had drawn upon the Samians the hostile fleet of the Athenians! The specious but unfounded calumny was publicly uttered and extensively circulated; vainly, as it seemed, for the war was commenced, and Perikles, with the poet of the *Antigone*, nominated as commanders.

If we consider this tragedy with relation to the circumstances thus briefly recounted, and to the growing conviction of the more sober

and patriotic party represented by Perikles, that a curb must be put upon the extravagant lust of a large number of the Athenians for new, distant, and uncertain conquests—that a period had arrived when the ambition of the people must be repressed rather than encouraged, we cannot fail to discern a multitude of allusions which prove that Sophokles was, to say the least, as keenly interested in the politics of the day as Æschylos, when he sought in his *Eumenides* to defend the Areopagos from the attacks of those who were labouring to weaken its aristocratic character and influence. The constant reiteration of its fundamental maxim, that reason and moderation are the highest good, passion, pride, and excess, the greatest evil to a people, must have been well understood by the audience to whom it was addressed, in its direct and practical bearing upon the views that were rife in regard to the extension of Athenian empire, and the treatment of the *debris* of that great aristocratical party which had so long sought the restriction of their rights. The language of the chorus in the second stasimon (vv. 617–625, ed. Woolsey) must have been received as a marked and palpable hit, by those among the audience who, unsatisfied with the thousand tributary cities which bowed to the yoke of their city, were still busied with projects of more unlimited aggrandizement. And what Athenian could have heard the first stasimon sung by the chorus, (vv. 332–375,) without the instantaneous conviction that the almost miraculous growth of his native Athens, her mastery at sea, and the beneficence of Demeter, who at Eleusis had first bestowed upon mortals the fruits of the field, were immediately present to the thought of the poet? Who could have been so blind as not to perceive in the same choral song the numerous references to the party strifes of the day, to the relative situations of the rival leaders, Thukydides and Perikles, (vv. 367–375,) and to the inventive genius of Artemon, that Lacedæmonian mechanician, whose military engines were soon to lay in ruins the proud walls of Samos?

Again: there can be little difficulty in recognising the political predilections of the poet, his ardent admiration and warm attachment to Perikles, in the opening address of Kreon to the chorus. The sentiments there enunciated are far less suited to the character of a tyrant than to the FIRST CITIZEN (Thuk. 2, 65) of a free State; whilst all that Kreon utters respecting the duty of the ruler, the necessity under which he lies to sacrifice personal interests and private friendships to considerations of public welfare and advantage, is precisely in harmony with the actions, no less than the opinions, of Perikles. So, too, the lofty and unsurpassed disinterestedness of Perikles, his magnanimous contempt of all opportunities to enrich himself or his

friends at the expense of the national treasury, or from the profits of office, must have been the subject of the poet's reference in the noble words:—

“For there is nothing
Of all the coinage current in the world
So base as silver. This it is, naught else,
That sacks the city; this it is, naught else,
That parts the godman from his hearth and home;
This too unteaches and perverts the minds
Of upright mortals, till they take their post
Upon the side of ignominious actions;
This points the way of knavery to mankind,
And finds a school for every deed of sin.”

The statement of Hæmon, that the eye of the ruler alone restrained the utterances of disaffection, (vv. 690, 691, cf. Ai. 167, seqq.) must have been coupled by every Athenian auditor with the majestic form of the great orator, of whom it is recorded, as a special characteristic, that he disdained to flatter the people, but maintained a proud and cold demeanour to the masses; and who, to quote the language of Thukydides, “whenever he perceived them insolently and unseasonably confident, so shaped his speeches as to alarm and beat them down.” The reiterated assertion of Kreon, abundantly verified by his action and conduct, that he would never submit to the influence of a woman, and the no less emphatic assurances of Hæmon, that love to Antigone was in no respect the mainspring of his opposition to his father's decree, could not be viewed as anything else than an unmistakable allusion to the relations existing between Perikles and Aspasia, and the rumors in circulation with respect to the action of the latter in supporting the cause of Miletos against its opponents. In the same way, the following words in the choral invocation to Eros,—

*νικῇ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἡμερος εὐλέκτρον
νύμφας, τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς
θεσμῶν. ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαί-
ζει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα,—*

must have been understood to point clearly to the not unserviceable or feeble influence of the beautiful and accomplished Milesian upon the great legislator of the day. Lastly, the words of Kreon: “There is no greater ill than disobedience,” (v. 672, seqq.) have a direct and obvious allusion to the obedience which Perikles so rigidly enforced at home, and to the strict subordination which he exacted from the tributary dependencies abroad.

We have said, we trust, enough to demonstrate how simply and naturally the political ethics of the Antigone may be explained by a reference to immediately antecedent and contemporaneous events, and to explain the connexion between the publication of the play and the appointment of its author as one of the ten *strategoi* in the Samian war. Here, then, we would rest, merely guarding ourselves from misapprehension, by disavowing all sympathy with the notion that Sophokles has sought simply to unfold his political preferences under dramatic drapery in the tragedy before us, that we are to regard Kreon in his pride of power as Perikles in his unbounded influence over the minds of the Athenians, and to see in the care of Antigone for the burial of her brother, nothing more than the earnest interference of Aspasia in support of the prayer of her fellow-countrymen, the Milesian envoys.

We now proceed to the more immediate object of this paper, and respectfully invite the attention of our readers whilst we journey onwards through the "critica dumeta salebrasque grammaticas," which spread themselves before us.

V. 2. ἄρ' οἷσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν
ὅποιον οὐχὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαιν τελεῖ;

Such is the reading which, after Hermann, all recent editors have adopted, and which Mr. Donaldson pronounces to be "now established in the favour of the critics." Mr. Wunder explains the construction by asserting that τί οὐχί might have been substituted, without essential difference of meaning, for ὅποιον οὐχί, and that the language of the poet is simply a "more vivid" form of expression for πάντα τὰ κακὰ τελεῖ. In this opinion he was formerly supported by Lobeck, who, in his note on *Ai.* 1416, maintains that ὅτι and ὅποιον are of almost identical signification, and that ὅποιον οὐ follows ὅτι in the sense of πάν ὅτιόν. Upon this "somewhat fragile foundation," as Emper rightly terms it, he proceeds to compare our passage with those of which *Ced. Kol.* 1135, *Eur. Phæn.* 892, and other examples cited from Demosthenes by Boeckh, are appropriate specimens. The only really analogous example is that long ago quoted by Hermann from the *Œdipus Rex*: ἄρα μὲν μένησθ' ὅτι, οἱ ἔργα δράσας ἑμὶν εἴτα δεῦρ' ἴων ὅποι' ἐπρασσον αὐθις. The validity of any inference from this isolated passage (in itself somewhat doubtful) is greatly shaken by the fact, pointed out by Emper, that it may be explained as an asyndeton. The common reading (ὅτι) must indeed be abandoned, if explicable only as a double interrogation with the omission of καί, like the Homeric τίς πόθεν ἐσσί. To this explanation the wide separation of the two interrogative

pronouns, no less than the absence of any just ground of comparison between the stereotype formula alluded to and an artistically elaborated construction like our own, present formidable, if not insuperable opposition. Prof. Woolsey explains upon the supposition that Sophokles forgot the commencement of his sentence while inditing the end, as in those numerous instances, both in poetry and prose, in which the causal particles *ὅτι* and *ὥς* are joined by a blending of two constructions, with the infinitive: e. g., *Νομίζω ὅτι ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὦν στασιάζει πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν*. As we are reluctant, however, to admit two anacolutha (for another is assumed at v. 4, below) in the very commencement of a tragedy so austere and finished as the play before us, and as the sentence apparently owes no small portion of its significance to the very peculiarity of its construction, we prefer, with the same scholar in his *second* edition, to retain the vulgate. Antigone opens her communication with the passionate inquiry whether Zeus is not accomplishing in the life-time of herself and Ismene, *every* evil which can happen from their relationship to Œdipus; a thought which, had nothing more been intended, might have been expressed without the introduction of *ὅποιον*: — *ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπουν κακῶν — οὐχί νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαιν τελεῖ*. But, in addition to the statement that no one of these evils fails to reach them, she expresses, by the insertion of *ὅποιον*, the further notion that in point of *kind* or specific character, no less than in point of number, these misfortunes are in course of fulfilment. Both these ideas are carefully reiterated in the lines which immediately follow,—“*for there is no single circumstance of wretchedness or ruin, of inward degradation or external dishonour, of such sort, that in thy and my misfortunes I have not seen it manifest*,”—where *ὅποιον* is repeated. In support of this view we may quote the words of Hermann: “*ὅτι ad summam malorum, ὅποιον ad genus refertur, in quibus non magis quidpiam vitiose dictum, quam si cui omnia omnis generis mala evenisse dicatur*.” The well-known canon of Dawes, that *ὅποιος* cannot be used as an interrogative, is refuted by several passages in the Attic poets. Cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 702: *τίς, πόθεν ἢ ποίας πάτρας; ὅποιον εὐχεται τὸν ὑπατον θεόν*; upon which passage Lobeck, on Phryn., p. 57, remarks: “*Neminem hodie viventium relativum (ὅποιον) offendet in directa interrogatione positum*, v. Brunck ad Ar. *Plut.* 392, *qui quod dicit ὅποιος, ὅπως, ὥς, ὅστις centies apud Atticos poetas occurrere in interrogatione, idem valet de scriptoribus cujusvis generis et in relativis omnibus*.” So Heliod. 7, 14: *ὅποιοις συνευζόμεθα*; Plat. *Rep.* III., p. 414, D: *οὐκ οἶδα ὅποιά τόλμη ἢ ποίους λόγους χρώμενος*.

4, 5. The commentators are justly offended with the form no less than the sense of the words ἀτης ἀτερ. Wunder, Schæfer, and Emper approve the emendation of Coray. Mr. Donaldson edits from his own conjecture ἀτην ἀγον, *tending to calamity*, which we deny to be Greek. Porson surmised that ἀτερ originated in the gloss ἀτηρ for ἀτηρόν, written over the words of the text as explanatory of some periphrase with ἀτη, and hence proposed ἀτης ἔχον, whilst Brunck conjectures ἀτήριον,—unfortunately a “vox ignota” to the Greeks. In his second edition Prof. Woolsey followed Boeckh and Wex in considering the clause parenthetical, and in giving ἀτερ the same force as ἀνευ and χωρίς in similar collocations frequent in Plato and the orators. Now he observes that “the sense thus elicited is not good. Why should not Antigone speak of the ἀτη of her race? Perhaps it is hardly necessary to add Dindorf’s explanation: ‘*id est οὗτ’ οὐκ ἀτης ἀτερ, negatione ex præcedente οὐδέν repetenda.*’” As we do not understand how the intolerable construction (or to use the more euphemistic expression of Dindorf, the “negligentior orationis conformatio”) of the verse as it stands, can be excused by the “*tanta perspicuitas sententiæ*,” we believe the reading to be corrupt, and admit that the learned have here legitimate grounds for illustrating their skill in emendation. It is to be regretted that the metre will not allow us to read ἀτίετον, as in Æsch. *Eum.* 385: ἀτιμ’ ἀτίετα διόμεναι λάχη.

19. Mr. Donaldson, referring to his New Cratylus, p. 358, has edited εἵνεκα. We are aware that it has been proposed by several scholars to write εἵνεκα, wherever οὐνεκα is used as a preposition, and that this suggestion has in one or two cases, e. g. Æsch. *Suppl.* 185, the consent of the MSS. [In Thuk. 6, 56, Demosth. p. 1358, 11, Krüger properly restores ἔνεκα.] Since, however, Sophokles may be said, from the unanimous testimony of the codices, never to have employed either ἔνεκα or εἵνεκα, whilst he is in the frequent habit of constructing οὐνεκα with the genitive, (in precisely the same way as Herodotos joins that case with the words μέχρις οὗ,) we need hardly express our disapproval of any change in the common reading of this verse.

20. Emper observes correctly that ἔπος καλχαίνειν does *not* mean *propter aliquod dictum perturbatum esse*. Equally inaccurate is the supposition of Wex that ἔπος signifies *aliquid* or *res*. On the contrary it refers plainly to some communication Antigone is about to make to Ismene, and must be rendered *propter aliquod quod dictura es*.

21. We differ from Mr. Wunder in referring τάφον to προτίσας, and from Mr. Donaldson in considering it a genitive of relation

dependent upon both participles. The connexion of ideas has been excellently pointed out by Emper. "The primary thought, on which all the emphasis lies, is clearly the non-burial of Polyneikes; and the secondary or subordinate thought, subserving merely the purpose of heightening the outrage enjoined to be practised against *his* remains, the sepulchral honours of Eteokles. This is shown by the very form of the expression; for τὸν μὲν ποτίσας is evidently inserted parenthetically, or *extra constructionem*." Hence τάφον must be joined with ἀτιμάσας, as a genitive of privation.

24. χρησθεῖς. "Supply αὐτῷ. *Treating him according to righteous justice and law.*" Hermann, on the other hand, properly remarks that χρησθεῖς cannot be taken for χρησάμενος. The objections to his own emendation are well stated in the note of Mr. Donaldson, who, comparing *El.* 933, where προσθεῖναι is used of additional honours, paid to the tomb of Agamemnon, substitutes in its place the words προσθεῖς δίκαια. Mr. Wunder gets over all difficulty by omitting the verse, and is followed by Dindorf, who contents himself with a mere reference to the authority of his predecessor. Such a proceeding in opposition to the testimony of the MSS., all of which exhibit this line without the slightest variation, cannot be too severely censured. To Mr. Wunder's assertion that the conjunction of δίκαιος with the substantive δίκη is wholly inadmissible, we oppose the more accurate remark of Prof. Woolsey that this epithet is added "because the decree against Polyneikes might be called δίκη, but was yet very far from being δικάια, (δίκαιον scil. κήρυγμα? cf. v. 8,) while it was according to law and justice for Kreon to inter the deceased as next of kin." It is, moreover, in entire accordance with such combinations as γάμος ἄγαμος, πόνος ἄπονος, and the Latin *jus justum* and *jus injustum*. All necessity for alteration in the common reading is superseded by regarding χρησθεῖς as passive, not only in form, but also in sense, as in *Dem. Mid.* 16, *Herod.* 7, 144. Referred to Kreon, it would, according to Prof. Klotz, signify *den, der gebraucht wird*, in a meaning equivalent to the German expression, *der sich so brauchen, der sich so finden liess*, and the Latin *usi eo sumus, habuimus eum*. Such a rendering *dum se justa cum justitia ac lege exhibet*, harmonizes very well with the "faint praise," which, even in the matter of Eteokles' burial, we may suppose that Antigone would be disposed to assign to Kreon.

40. We are happy to find that Porson's elegant emendation λύουσ' ἂν εἰδ' ἄπτονσα —, which best preserves the symmetry of form characteristic of proverbial expressions, has been preferred by Wex to λύουσ' ἂν ἡ φάπτονσα, as edited by all the rest. That

εἴτε may stand in place of *ἤ*, is clear from *Ai.* 178, *Æd. Tyr.* 517, *Æsch. Ag.* 1404.

48. Mr. Dindorf edits *μ' εἰργεῖν μέτα*, with Brunck. Unnecessarily, for the personal pronoun, omitted in all the MSS., is fully implied in the construction,—the genitive *τῶν ἐμῶν* being unquestionably masculine.

57. The expression *μόρον ἐργάζεσθαι ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις*, and the position occupied by *χεροῖν* have proved great stumbling-blocks to the commentators. To remove the first, Hermann proposed *ἐπαλλήλοις*, which adjective, although used exclusively by later writers, and only in the sense *one upon another, continuous*, (*Polyb.* 2, 11, 7; *Diod.* 3, 35; *Herodian* 2, 7, 6,) is nevertheless received by Dindorf and Donaldson. Cf. Klotz in *Jahn's Jahrb. f. Phil.* B. 21. S. 162 fg. Mr. Wunder proposes the transposition of the words *μόρον* and *χεροῖν*, which few, we imagine, will approve. The datives *χερί, χεροῖν, χερσίν* are frequently so placed in the tragedies, (cf. 1281, *Ai.* 1047,) and were used in a quasi-adverbial sense, almost = *βιαίως*. Boissonade conjectures *ὑπ' ἀλλήλοις*, Emper *ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*, for reasons which, he says, may be seen in the context. With Prof. Woolsey we see no necessity for change. Emper objects to the construction *μήδεσθαι τι ἐπὶ τινι*, quoted by Wunder in support of the expression *μόρον κατεργάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι*, that in *μήδεσθαι* the notion of purpose or intention (*consulere in aliquem*) is mainly, if not exclusively, conveyed. A reference, however, to *Hom. Il.* 10, 52, 22, 395, *Od.* 24, 426 will satisfactorily show that *κακὰ μήδεσθαι τινα* is certainly equivalent to *κακὰ δοᾶν τινα*. So, too, in *Æsch. Choëph.* 991 with *ἐπὶ* and the dative. We think, therefore, that the illustration is in point; but should it still be objected to, the employment of the preposition may be justified by numerous other passages, such as *Philokt.* 197, 1138, *Eur. Med.* 1262, *Phen.* 629, where see Porson. If, lastly, Hermann's correction should be preferred, it will be better to take it in its usual meaning, *continuis cædibus* (in reference to the outrage just before stated to have been committed by *Œdipus*, and to the suicide of *Iokasta*), than in the sense of *ἀλληλοφονοῖν*.

63, 64. Mr. Donaldson explains the construction: *ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι ἐφυνεν γυναῖκα, ὥς —, ἔπειτα δὲ οὐνεκα ἀρχόμεθα* [ὥς τε] ἀκούειν. In this way *οὐνεκα*, as at *Philokt.* 232, is a simple synonym for *ὅτι*. Assuming this to be correct we still think Prof. Woolsey's explanation, that the employment of the infinitive is due to a construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν* (the verb *ἀρχόμεθα* involving here the notion usually expressed by *ἀναγκαζόμεθα*), in every way preferable to the supposition of an ellipse of *ὥς τε*. We would,

however, understand *οὐνεκα* in its causative sense, *quia*, and supply *χρή* to *ἀκούειν*, as suggested by Jakobs.

70. Prof. Woolsey properly supplies *ἐμοί* from *ἐμοῦ* with *ἡδέως*, the adverb being referred in a general way to the subject of the principal clause. Mr. Wunder periphrases: *οὐκ ἂν εἴη μοι ἡδύ, εἰ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὀρώης*. Quite right, says Emper, as respects the sense, but whence the necessity for the periphrase? To the precisely analogous illustration cited from Eur. *Bacch.* 796, add Plat. *Theæt.* p. 161, C: *τὰ μὲν ἅλλα μοι πάντ' ἡδέως εἰρηκεν*, and v. 436, below. Mr. Dindorf, while censuring Brunck's version *lubens te utar adjutrice*, has shown, by his absurd rendering *lubens tecum facies*, that he has himself wholly misconceived the meaning of the poet.

71. Wunder and Donaldson follow Hermann in reading *ὀποία*. Mr. Dindorf edits *ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ὀποία*, which coincides with the scholion: *τοιαύτη γένου, ὀποία καὶ βούλει*. But as the preponderance of authority is in favour of *ἴσθ' ὀποία σοι δοκεῖ*, and this yields an excellent sense, we cannot see that any change is required. *ἴσθ'* is the imperative of *οἶδα*, *but decide on such things as* —.

83. Mr. Dindorf retains the common reading *μή μου*, but the antithesis requires *μή 'μῶν*.

88. We prefer Erfurdt's explanation to that of Hermann. Ismene is transported by the taunt of her sister beyond her accustomed gentleness, and indulges in something like sarcasm at the passionate impetuosity of Antigone. The phraseology is doubtless proverbial, for the Greeks called that which was vain and unprofitable *ψυχρόν*. See Eur. *Alkest.* 363, a passage best explained by *Hel.* 35. The sense of our verse will therefore be: *thou art fervid and rash in a matter which can come to no profitable end*.

93. Mr. Donaldson has admitted a conjecture attributed by Emper to Prof. Lehrs, according to which *ἐχθρᾶ* (*sic scriptum*) is joined with *δίκη*, his reason being that *δίκη* without any epithet is an "awkward and languid" termination to the line. "*Ἐχθρὰ δίκη* is *jus inimicorum*, and the meaning thus imparted to our passage is *jure inimicorum apud mortuum eris*." These are the words of Emper. The common reading gives, nevertheless, as good, if not a better sense, whilst the emendation and its interpretation appear to us equally destitute of credit. The dative *δίκη* has here an adverbial force, as at *El.* 70, 561, 1212, 1255, where it occurs, as in our own line, without a preposition. Its position in the verse is justified by the emphasis attached to its notion. Very dissimilar, therefore, is the Æschylean expression: *δίκη δ' ὁμαίμων κάρτα νυν προστέλλεται*.

100. Mr. Dindorf reads with two manuscripts *ἀκτις ἀελίοιο*, omitting the article before *κάλλιστον*. The common reading *ἀκτις ἀελίου τὸ κάλλιστον* is defended not merely by the majority of the codices, but by the scholiast and Eustathius. Cf. Pind. *fragm.* p. 231, ed. Dissen, *Eur. Med.* 1218. The article, so far from being "*inepte additum*," is required to isolate and heighten the force of the superlative. — The construction of a partitive genitive, involving the notion of *time antecedent*, with superlatives whose subject is referred retrospectively to the whole circle of objects denoted by the former, is frequent in poetry and prose. The tyro may compare the following examples from Thukydides and Xenophon: πόλεμος ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν προγεγενημένων, ἱεροπρεπέστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημένων, Ἀθηναῖοι ἀρχὴν τὴν ἤδη μεγίστην τῶν τε πρὶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν νῦν κέκτηνται.

106. Mr. Dindorf completes the measure by reading with Hermann Ἀργοθεν ἐκ (scil. ἐκβάντα). We prefer Boeckh's correction Ἀργείων. The same diaeresis occurs in vv. 971, 984, 1115.

108. *δξντέρω κινήσασα χαλινῶ*. Mr. Wunder approves Musgrave's explanation *celerior reditus fuit quam accessus*, a harsh and unsatisfactory mode of accounting for the employment of the comparative. Mr. Donaldson asserts that Emper alone has seen its full significance. "The defeated Argives marched away during the night. The beams of the rising sun, which the chorus here addresses, impel them to a swifter flight, i. e. swifter than their retreat during the darkness, for with the advance of day the peril of pursuit became more threatening." That Mr. Donaldson, who confidently affirms that certain works in a list subjoined to his introduction supply "either at first or at second hand every original observation respecting the Antigone which has hitherto been given to the world," should be ignorant that precisely the same explanation, by far the best that can be given of *δξντέρω*, had been brought forward long previously to the publication of Emper's criticisms by Prof. Woolsey, is in no degree surprising. We are, however, disposed to prefer *δξν-όρω*, the reading of the three best manuscripts, explained by Welcker as equivalent to the *fræna lupata* of Horace and Virgil. Hermann ἔχων τούτων θυμὸν ἱππογνώμονα, urges in opposition to this view that *fræna lupata* are better adapted to restrain than to accelerate the speed of a flying horse, and that the contrary notion *frænis remissis* would be far more suitable to the routed Argives.

110. That the common reading is corrupt is shown by both syntax and metre. The accusative *δν* has no verb to which it can be referred, and a dipodia is wanting in the anapaestic system.

Mr. Dindorf thinks that the first difficulty is due to an anacoluthon. The poet having written the accusative as if ἤγαγε was to follow, has substituted in place of the finite verb the fuller description: ἀρθεῖς ——— αἰετὸς ἐς γὰν ὑπερέπτα. Kühner considers δὲ to depend upon κλάζων, as in Æsch. Ag. 48: κλάζοντες Ἄρη, —but this explanation will hardly meet acceptance. Mr. Wunder, followed by Prof. Woolsey in his second edition, pays little heed to the metrical difficulty, and edits with Brunck δὲ — Πολυνείκους. Conceding to these scholars that anapaestic verses, when introduced between the strophe and antistrophe, do not always correspond very precisely either in number or composition, we, nevertheless, believe with Mr. Wex that the equilibrium of the anapaestic system in this Parodos must be strictly maintained. We are strengthened in this conviction from observing the close connexion both in sense and construction between these verses, the close of the strophe, and the anapaestic antistystema. If it is correct we must then admit a lacuna, and restore the construction by supplying a finite verb. For although the participles συναγείρας and ἀγαγών would meet the want of the syntax, they would make Polyneikes the principal subject, whereas it is clear that the metaphor of the white-winged eagle is intended for the Argives, whose white shields are most assuredly the ground of the comparison. The deficiency in the text will for these reasons be best supplied in the way proposed by Mr. Wex:—

[ἤγειρεν· ὁ δ'] αἰετὸς εἰς γὰν ὥς
ὀξέα κλάζων ὑπερέπτα.

This highly ingenious emendation is derived from the words of the scholiast: ὄντινα στρατὸν Ἀργείων ἐξ ἀμφιλύγων νεικέων ἀρθεῖς ἤγαγεν ὁ Πολυνείκης, where the word Ἀργείων is probably a corruption of ἀγείρων, so that the scholiast was explaining the ἤγειρεν of his text by the periphrase ἀγείρων ἤγαγε. Cf. Hom. Il. 4, 377, *Œd. Kol.* 1306.

117. Prof. Woolsey has received Boeckh's emendation φονώσαισιν. This is unquestionably correct, and may be inferred from the annotation of the scholiast to have stood in his copy. The common reading is opposed to both the sense and the metre.

130. All the MSS. exhibit ὑπεροπτίας, a "vox nihili," as Ellendt rightly terms it. Mr. Wunder assumes from the words of the scholiast that Sophokles wrote some such word as ὑπεροπτοτέρους in this sense: ὑπεροπτοτέρους ἢ κατὰ καναχήν, *insolentiores quam pro fragore*, for this is the meaning of ἢ κατὰ καναχήν after the comparative. Mr. Wunder would probably object to this explanation, and direct us to understand χρόσῃ καναχῆς not in a general sense,

but of the rattling of the Argive arms: *their arrogance surpassed the (proud) rattling of their golden weapons.* But this thought seems too recondite and far-fetched. Emper, from whose note we have taken the preceding observations, suggests *ὑπεροπλήντας*, a contracted form of *ὑπεροπλήντας*. Mr. Donaldson reads *χρυσῶν καναχῇ θ' ὑπερόπλους*: but however admirable the sense yielded by his suggestion, its lack of authority ought to have forbidden its insertion in the text. We prefer with Mr. Dindorf to adopt the word *ὑπερόπτας*, which is written between the lines in the Cod. Laur. d, and in one of the Parisian MSS., is supported by the explanation of the scholiast, and is well adapted to the sense and the metre. The authority of Thukydides is against the supposition of Wex, who infers from *Œd. Tyr.* 883 that this word may be constructed with the dative. As we can find no support for a collocation so harsh as *ῥεύμα καναχῆς*, we would connect *χρυσῶν* with *ῥεύματι*, and from the words of the scholiast, *μετὰ χρυσῶν καὶ καναχῆς*, feel no hesitation as to the propriety of inserting *τε* after the second genitive. Read, therefore: *χρυσῶν καναχῆς τε ὑπερόπτας*.

133. *ὀρμώντα*. Mr. Donaldson is, doubtless, correct in condemning Wunder's translation, *eum, qui parabat*, but goes greatly too far in receiving a mere inadvertence, for so we must regard it, as one of the "numberless instances of inaccurate syntactical knowledge on the part of professed scholars in Germany." The Latin is, *qui* is, it is true, generally expressed in Greek by the participle with the article, but there are many exceptions both in poetry and prose. Eur. *Phæn.* 270: *ἅπαντα γὰρ τολμῶσι δεῖνα φαίνεται*. Plat. *Gorg.* p. 498, A: *νοῦν ἔχοντα (οὐπω εἶδες) λυπούμενον καὶ χαίροντα*. Id. *Legg.* p. 795, E: *διαφέρει δὲ παμπολὺ μαθὼν μὴ μαθόντος καὶ ὁ γυμνασάμενος τοῦ μὴ γεγυμνασμένου*.

138-140. The common reading *τὰ μὲν, ἄλλα τὰ δέ*, is evidently corrupt. Boeckh emends *τὰ μὲν, ἄλλα δ'*, and this correction has been received by all subsequent editors. Mr. Wunder explains: *vertit autem aliorum hæc, alia vero mala aliis inferebat Mars*, i. e., Ares averted mischief from the Thebans by turning aside the danger threatened by Kapaneus, and overwhelmed the Argives with destruction in other parts of the field. Against this emendation, as Emper says, a two-fold objection may be urged. "The first is that the metre requires a long syllable instead of *μὲν* at the end of the verse; the second, that the removal of the danger menaced by Kapaneus cannot possibly have been attributed to Ares, since the preceding verses expressly represent his overthrow to have been effected by the thunderbolt of Zeus." To translate *εἶχε δ' ἄλλα τὰ μὲν*, with Mr. Donaldson, *some things happened in one way*, i. e.,

Kapaneus was destroyed by Zeus in the manner just mentioned, removes certainly the second objection, but seems to us very frigid. We believe that the poet wrote as follows: *εἶχε δ' ἄλλα μὲν ἄλλ'·* || *ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις κ. τ. λ.* The corruption of the vulgate arose, doubtless, from the circumstance that some interpreter having appended *τὰ μὲν* — *τὰ δέ* as a marginal explanation of *ἄλλα μὲν* — *ἄλλα δέ*, this gloss crept subsequently into the text. The *ἄλλ'* (i. e. *ἄλλα*) at the conclusion of the first line is for *ἄλλως*, as at Æsch. *Eum.* 533: *ἄλλα δ' ἄλλ' ἐφορεύει*, and the sense is: *some things Ares restrained in one way, or differently; but upon others bestowed other things.*

156. Mr. Dindorf edits from his own conjecture *νεοχμοῖσι* for *νεοχμὸς νεαραῖσι*, and is, as usual, followed by Wunder. On the other hand we believe, if the common reading is inaccurate, the corruption is not to be sought in the thoroughly tragic collocation suspected by Mr. Dindorf. The majority of modern critics, considering the verses antistrophic, suppose that some words have perished from the text, and hence Boeckh introduces the words *νέον εἰληχῶς ἀρχήν* between *Μενοικέως* and *νεοχμὸς νεαραῖσι*, — a supplement which Mr. Donaldson has printed in his text. The supposition of a lacuna is highly probable, but we have no hesitation respecting the propriety of retaining *νεοχμὸς νεαραῖσι*, which the scholiast found in his copy. In favour of Boeckh's emendation it may certainly be urged that it leaves the reading of the MSS. unaltered, supplies a sense which harmonizes excellently with the evident intention of the poet to portray strongly the novelty of the circumstances under which Kreon is just about to make his appearance, and derives some little countenance from the language of the scholiast, which, as Erfurdt pointed out, warrants the inference that he found a participle in his text.

158. Hermann's emendation *τίνα δῆ* is preferable to the reading *τινὰ δῆ* of the common copies. It is supported by two manuscripts, one of which exhibits *ποίαν* as a gloss. The vulgate represents the chorus as saying: I conclude from the convocation of the Gerusia that Kreon has *some plan* or *a plan*. This is opposed by the position of the particle *δῆ*, which, when used with indefinite pronouns or with *ποτε* to increase the notion of indefiniteness, is always placed first: *δῆ τις*, *quidam nescio quis*; *δῆ ποτε*, *quondam nescio quando*. According to Hermann's alteration the chorus expresses a desire to learn *what plan* he entertains; and this accords with its almost constant habit of questioning every new-comer, in order that certain necessary information as to the subsequent action may be imparted to the spectators. This inquiry meets a direct response in the words

of the monarch, and it is no trifling argument in favour of the interrogative pronoun that it establishes a direct relation between the antecedent and subsequent language.

186. From the use of *ἀντί* in comparisons arises its notion of *substitution* or of *value*. Render, *at the cost of my own safety*; for there is here an antithesis between the individual *σωτηρία* and the public *ἄτη*.

203. Most editors adopt Musgrave's reading *ἐκκεκρήνεται* in place of the common *ἐκκεκρηῦχθαι*. Some critics assume an anacoluthon, and refer the infinitive to *κηρύξας ἔχω*. Thus Prof. Woolsey observes that "such tautology can only be accounted for by the poet's having forgotten the structure and supplied *λέγω* before the infinitive." We think that Erfurdt and Wyttenbach are right in maintaining that an absolute ellipse of such a verb, which, by the way, is inconsistent with the notion of the poet's having *forgotten* the construction, is wholly unsupported by authority, and believe that the infinitive is here used for the imperative: *hunc ne quis sepeliat jussum esto*,—in which view, the employment of the perfect is very appropriate.

211. Mr. Dindorf emends *κᾶς τὸν εὐμενῆ πόλει*, the common reading being *καὶ τὸν εὐμ. πόλει*. The preposition is inserted to connect the line with the clause *σοὶ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει* in the preceding verse. But this, to say nothing of the omission of the preposition before *τὸν*—*δύσκειν* and the very doubtful construction *ἀρέσκει τινὶ τι εἰς τινα*, is inferior in emphasis to the MSS. reading, and more difficult to be understood. The dissatisfaction of the chorus is apparent from the studied brevity of the language.

213. The vulgate *παντί πού τ'* is given up by all the critics, except Klotz, who thinks that *πού τ'* is for *καὶ ὁπουοῦν*. In this view the *plena locutio* would be: *νόμῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι ὁποῖω θέλεις ἐνεστί σοι*. Mr. Dindorf edits *παντί πον πάρεστι*, Hermann *πάντι πάντ'*, and Donaldson *πανταχοῦ πάρεστι*: but these suggestions are exceedingly harsh, and diverge too widely from the reading of the MSS. We believe with Boeckh that Erfurdt's conjecture *παντί πού γ'*, although denied by Hermann to be a Greek collocation, is a genuine restoration of the original writing; and that the omission of *πον* or *γε* would be altogether destructive of the ethos of the passage. The words of the chorus imply dissatisfaction with the mandate of Kreon in conjunction with a carefully subdued and almost imperceptible irony. We must protest against the statement that this reply of the chorus is to be understood as the expression of its servile and unconditional acquiescence in all that had just fallen from the lips of the king. Submission to authority is, indeed, expressed, in accordance with the

lesson universally inculcated in the days preceding Sophokles, that deference to the ruling powers was the highest virtue. For Greek philosophy and Greek ethics viewed men principally as constituent parts of a πόλις, considering this to be the real end for which all should live, and in which alone the individual could attain his highest and most complete development. Hence there is no just cause for offence in finding the chorus, with a proper appreciation of its own personality and subordination to the leading personages of the play, always disposed to uphold, or at least not openly to contravene, the authority of Kreon. At the same time the Sophoklean *εἰρωνεία*, as the critics have observed, is palpable and clear. The words of the chorus neither unreservedly approve nor openly contradict the γνώμη of its ruler, but refer everything and all responsibility to his own will and pleasure.

215. We are surprised, with Mr. Donaldson, at the favour shown by better men to Dindorf's conjecture, πῶς ἂν σκόποι νῦν εἴτε. The chorus had just professed its submission to Kreon and his edict. The king replies to the protestation, the ironical character of which he doubtless detects: What your opinion upon the subject of my authority may be, I neither know nor care; think upon that matter as pleases yourselves, *dummodo nunc custodes sitis eorum quæ edixi*. See the scholiast and Elmsley on *Œd. Kol.* 156. The conjunctive with ὥς ἂν has, in this passage, a quasi-imperative force; or, to speak with greater accuracy, an antecedent clause is implied in the very nature of the construction.

218. The reading ἀλλῶ, which has the support of the best MSS., is rejected by Donaldson in his text, but preserved in his translation: *What further office hast thou for another?*

220. Prof. Woolsey's note upon the construction is as follows: "Ος sometimes follows οὕτως instead of the usual ὥστε. Comp. Matthiae's Gr. Gr. 478, Obs. 1." If the student has the authority referred to, he will find the same fact pointed out in almost the same phraseology. Our objection to this kind of annotation is, that it teaches the student nothing more than he has already learned, from a mere perusal of the passage before him. If comment is necessary, the principle by which the Greeks (chiefly with a negation or in an interrogative sentence) substituted a relative clause with ὅς or more usually ὅστις in place of ὥστε after οὕτως, should be stated and enforced. "In the same way," says Krüger, "as they said μῶρος ὅς θανεῖν ἐρᾷ, so also, omitting the demonstrative or some antecedent general notion, did they say: (οὐδεὶς) τίς οὕτω μῶρος ὅς θανεῖν ἐρᾷ." Examples abound in Demosthenes and Xenophon.

(Conclusion in the April Number.)

ART. VII.—WILLIAM PENN.

1. *William Penn: an Historical Biography, from New Sources, with an extra Chapter on the "Macaulay Charges."* By WILLIAM HEFWORTH DIXON. 12mo., pp. 353. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1851.
2. *The History of England from the Accession of James II.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vol. I., Chap. IV., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1849.

IN 1644, according to Mr. Dixon, there were two great events in England: the first was the birth of Quakerism; the second, the birth of William Penn. The first happened after this wise. Three Leicestershire rustics, one of whom was a rude and saturnine lad of nineteen, met at a fair, and resolved to have a stoup of ale together. After exhausting the first supply, two of the bumpkins feeling somewhat mellow called for more, and vowed that he who would not drink should pay the score. The other, who neither relished deep draughts himself nor paying for them for others, demurred, and taking a groat from his pocket laid it on the table, and said, "If it be so, I will leave you,"—which he did, and went home filled with strange and gloomy thoughts. "This simple village ale-house incident," says Mr. Dixon, "was one of the most important events which had yet happened in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race; for out of it was to come Quakerism, the writings and teachings of Penn and Barclay, the colony and constitution of Pennsylvania, the republics of the west, and, in no very remote degree, the vast movement of liberal ideas in Great Britain and America in more modern times." Now we mean no disrespect to Mr. Dixon when we say that we do not believe a word of all this twaddle. We believe that both Quakerism and modern liberty in England and America had a much deeper and more dignified origin than the empty breeches-pocket of George Fox. The burning of the Ephesian temple may have caused the fiery energy of the Macedonian madman, the silence of the Delphic oracle may have been occasioned by the yet greater birth to which it is sometimes referred; but the day for such marvels is passed, or at least, with our knowledge of the facts, we cannot compress all the great events to which Mr. Dixon alludes into these empty ale-pots of the Leicestershire fair. We believe Quakerism to have been a phenomenon of not only interest but importance in the world's history, whether we look at its religious or political results; and we believe its actual origin to have occurred in the labours of George Fox; but we can neither regard the fountain to be so small, nor the stream so large, as represented by the enthusiastic biographer of Howard and Penn.

Quakerism is simply one of the manifestations which the human mind will put forth, under the influence of Christianity, in an age of religious earnestness. There are three prominent forms in which the religious element of the race is prone to manifest itself, all of which are exaggerations of a portion of truth. These forms are scepticism, formalism, and mysticism : the first an extravagant assertion of the rational or logical powers ; the second, of the sensibilities, which demand something tangible and visible for their excitement ; and the third, of the moral or spiritual powers, which isolate the soul, and link it directly to God. These typical forms we have in the Sadducee, who believed too little ; the Pharisee, who believed too much ; and the Essene, who did not believe at all, so much as feel, and in whom the intense action of the moral element subordinated both the natural reason and the natural emotions in one eager desire after a species of absorption in the divine essence. Now, of the three we are free to confess that our sympathies are mainly with the last. If we must have an exaggeration at all, we think that of the mystic decidedly to be preferred to that of the sceptic or formalist, as it rests on a higher and nobler element of our nature than either of the others. It is not, therefore, with any depreciating estimate of Quakerism, that we rank it among the manifestations of mysticism in Christianity. The essential principle of mysticism is a belief in, and a reliance upon, subjective rather than objective manifestations of God ; and a consequent tendency to regard as at least of co-ordinate, if not of paramount authority to the written revelation of the Scriptures, the revelation that is made by God in the soul. Believing in a direct communication of the divine nature to the human, it makes these inward revelations the standard by which to interpret and decide upon the outward, rather than the outward to be the rule by which to try them. It is to this general principle that we must refer the Quaker doctrine of an inward light, as far as it is peculiar to their creed. As sometimes explained, it is difficult to discriminate between it and the common doctrines of union with Christ, the inhabitation of the Spirit in the soul, and the universal grace of the Remonstrants. But as held by those most deeply imbued with the essential principles of the system, it really embodies all that is peculiar to mysticism, as a distinctive manifestation of the religious element in our nature. Hence the written revelation is neither called the word of God, nor is it regarded as the sole and supreme rule of faith and practice. The Scriptures, being themselves only the records of that portion of the divine light that was imparted to their writers, whilst they are regarded with reverence as the testimony which these men gave to the nature and reality of this inward shin-

ing of the Godhead, are yet deemed only as co-ordinate manifestations of this light, which is given to each man to profit withal. There is a more sure word of prophecy, to which all must give earnest heed, as to a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn and the Day-star arise in their hearts. This is the real light to our feet and lamp to our path which is given to guide us on our pilgrimage through life. Hence we are urged by Quakerism to look at the light within, rather than at that without; to seek the Christ revealed in the soul, rather than the Christ revealed in the Scriptures. This we believe to be the fundamental principle of Quakerism, and to be essentially identical with that of mysticism as we find it existing under the action of Christianity.

It is curious to see the affiliation between apparently remote forms of thought. It requires but a few steps of logical induction to develop from this principle all the creed of modern scepticism, which admits an inspiration and a revelation, but affirms that they are not peculiar to the writers of the Scriptures; that they did not reach their highest or most authoritative form in them; and that they cannot be ascribed to a writing at all; and, therefore, that no writing can claim from the human mind that submission which we are bound to give to a clear revelation of God. Now, so far as Quakerism has given currency to these principles, its influence as a theological element has been of the highest importance. The mythical theory of Strauss has been anticipated by some of the early Friends; and it is worthy of inquiry whether the system of Schleiermacher, which is now working its way so widely in the new school of theological thinkers, had not its origin in the mystical leaven that was instilled into or evolved from his mind by his early Moravian training.

The causes that gave occasion and success to this movement are not obscure. It was an age of deep religious earnestness, and men were asking, with a real and profound anxiety, "What shall I do to be saved?" The establishment of the great doctrine of justification by faith through the Reformation had disfranchised the Church of that plenipotentary power which she once wielded in the matter of salvation, and made it an individual transaction between the soul and God. But such was the deadness and corruption of the Reformed Church of England, that the gospel itself had lost its vitality and heart, and become a mere system of formalism. Now there were two possible directions which an awakened religious earnestness might take,—the one an objective, which would strive to breathe into the Church and the Bible their ancient and real significance, and make the dead letter of each a living word; the other a subjective, which, by a more intense development of that earnestness itself,

should evolve somewhat that should in a measure take the place of both, and be a birth of the new rather than a resuscitation of the old. The first direction was taken by Puritanism, the second by Quakerism. The first made Cromwell, Owen, Baxter, Hampden, and the stern colonists of the Mayflower; the second produced Fox, Barclay, Keith, Penn, and the quiet settlers of the fertile fields of Pennsylvania. The first, from its very objectivity, and consequent necessity of being embodied in fixed forms, had an element of hardness, which was also an element of firmness and permanence; the second, from its subjective character, and its existence as a life rather than as a system, was more vague and indeterminate in its manifestations, and had less enduring activity in the original forms in which it was embodied. The first was the system from which William Penn received the early mould and impulse of his character, the second the result to which the peculiarities of his individual nature led him in the circumstances in which he was placed.

There are three aspects in which Penn presents himself to us, which, although not the successive phases of his character in exact chronological order, yet in the main appear in the three great divisions of his life. These aspects are, as a *courtier*, a *Christian*, and a *colonist*. We propose to consider him briefly in each of these characters, in the first of which he was the representative of the state of things from which Quakerism had its origin, its necessity, and its conditions of success; in the second, the type of Quakerism as a religious life; and in the third, the embodiment of Quakerism as a political system, or at least as an element in civil life. We shall probably discover that all these combined influences are perceptible in the resultant of the forces exhibited in his life; and that whilst he did not cease to be a Christian when he became a colonist, neither did he entirely cease to be a courtier when he became a Christian. The best influences of both his courtliness and his Christianity appear mingled in the policy and tone of his colonial life.

To those who have formed their notions of Penn from that fat old gentleman with a broad-brimmed beaver and all the orthodox habiliments of Quakerism, who flourishes in West's painting and the various engravings of the Shakamaxon treaty, it may seem almost an irreverent abuse of terms to speak of William Penn the courtier. And yet it is nevertheless true that, whilst not open to the charges that have been made against him of the courtly vices as well as the courtly graces, he was for a considerable period of his life, and that not the least important in its influence on his subsequent history, a courtier.

His father, Admiral Penn, was one of the most sagacious and suc-

cessful of that long line of heroes that adorn the naval history of England, although in his loyalty he was a sort of quarter-deck Vicar of Bray. The successor of Blake and the conqueror of Van Tromp, he excites our admiration by his prowess and abilities; but the proffered betrayer of Cromwell, who was willing to be the Arnold of the great rebellion, and the secret correspondent of Charles whilst he ate the bread of the Commonwealth, he calls forth our commiseration and contempt. But as treachery to the Protectorate was construed to be fidelity to the Restoration, the return of the profligate Charles brought the admiral again in connexion with the court, and opened dreams of ambition for his family, that he might make it one of the patrician races of England. To attain this end, it was necessary that his eldest son should be brought under such training as would fit him to maintain the honours of his father's house. For this purpose a university course was essential, and he was accordingly sent to Oxford, at the age of fifteen. Unfortunately for the admiral's purpose, there sat in the dean's chair the form of John Owen, whose high-hearted Puritanism was too earnest and real a thing not to prove contagious to sympathetic natures. Penn, having but a few years before been led by his father's imprisonment under Cromwell to serious reflections, and even to a supposed vision, soon became deeply susceptible to the Puritan influence, and plunged profoundly into the great theological controversies of the day. Hence, when Owen was displaced by the Restoration parliament, the sympathies of Penn and others were all arrayed strongly and indignantly against the new *régime*. At this critical juncture there appeared at Oxford a Thomas Loe, who came to proclaim the new doctrines of George Fox, and who found in the excited minds of these recusant adherents of Owen a ready sympathy with his own protest against prevalent spiritual wickedness in high places. A furious crusade of the enthusiastic reformers against the unscriptural abomination of gowns, very naturally procured their expulsion from the university. The ambitious admiral was horror-struck at the thought of the heir and hope of his house becoming a ranting fanatic, and received him with cold and angry contempt. But finding this course unavailing, he determined to try what has cured so many of all taint of seriousness or sobriety—a tour of continental travel, which should expose him to the brilliant seductions of courtly life in Paris and elsewhere in Europe. The plan was so far successful that the silent and almost saturnine boy became somewhat of a polished man of the world, adopting the dress and manners of the fine gentleman, disarming his antagonist in a street duel with rapiers, and able to utter those soft and elegant nothings that formed the staple of fashionable conversa-

tion in that frivolous age. But there were two circumstances that deposited counteracting influences in his mind, the effects of which were long afterwards developed. The first was a course of theological study under the direction of the celebrated Amyrault, of Saumur, whose name is so prominent in the controversies of the Reformed Church of France. Those who have looked into these controversies, will not wonder that, under the guidance of this subtle and powerful intellect, materials should have been accumulated in the mind of Penn which afterwards were used with such force upon Hicks, Kiffin, Baxter, and others whom he met in his countless controversies. The second circumstance was the acquaintance of Algernon Sidney, from whom he imbibed notions that were afterwards attempted to be realized in "the holy experiment" that was made on the fertile banks of the Delaware. But in spite of the theological and political elements that were then infused into his mind, he returned to England, and made his appearance in the gay court of Charles, a finished cavalier. But again were his old Puritan longings awakened by that terrible visitation on London, the plague, in which the phantom of the pale horse and the thirsty dart made many a godless and thoughtless heart tremble; and again did the admiral interpose to save his heir apparent from fanaticism. He therefore sent him to Ireland, where the scheme seemed likely again to be crowned with complete success. The brilliant but virtuous court of Ormonde presented so many counteracting influences, that, having tasted the excitement of military life in an insurrection at Carrickfergus, he became anxious to enter the army, and actually had himself painted, the first and only time in his life, in the costume of a soldier. His father refused his consent to this scheme, supposing that all was going to his mind in regard to his son. But a seeming accident dashed all these expectations, and settled the destiny of Penn. Hearing, on a visit to Cork, that his quondam apostle, Thomas Loe, was to preach that night, he went to hear him, rather from curiosity than any deeper emotion. The fiery words of the earnest Quaker fell, like living coals, on the smouldering elements of religious fervour that yet slumbered in his heart; and inspired with a new purpose, he turned his back on the peerage and splendour intended for him by his father, and identified himself with the followers of George Fox. His father, hearing of it, sent for him, and being unutterably scandalized by his adherence to a sect that would not doff the hat, even in the presence of monarchy itself, the indignant old admiral turned him out of doors. Although readmitted to his father's house, an impassable gulf existed between the two, which continued to separate them, until the admiral was enabled to

judge of the wisdom of his son's choice in that solemn and searching light that falls on earthly things from a death-bed, when his heart relented, and he left his son his fortune and his blessing. Thus ended the courtier epoch of Penn's life; and though, like the rushing tide of the Missouri, after mingling with the placid Father of Waters, we may trace its turbid elements long afterwards in the flow of his life, yet at this point it loses its separate character, and is joined by another set of influences, which bring before us William Penn *the Christian*.

When we pronounce Penn to be a representative of Quakerism as a religious principle, we are not to be understood as affirming that he was a complete type of this movement. Indeed, there was something in the original bent of his mind that did not wholly sympathize with the essential character of Quakerism. Penn was by nature an enthusiast, but not a mystic, and it is in the combination of the two that we find the genuine representation of their religious movement. There were two facts in his nature that drew him toward Quakerism. The one was his Puritanism—the deep and solemn impression of spiritual things that possessed his soul, and prepared him to unite with any class of men, who could share these profound and powerful emotions. The other fact was, his English love of fair-play, and sympathy with the oppressed, who were aiming to establish some great principle. We firmly believe that had Cromwell lived, and given, as he desired, free toleration to all religious professions,—had Quakerism been allowed without opposition to lift up its voice against steeple-houses, mass-houses, taking off hats, and wearing Babylonish apparel, Penn never would have been a Quaker. There was in him, however, a John Bull honesty, with a spice of obstinacy and pugnacity which belongs to the same type of character, that drew him to the persecuted followers of Fox, with all the kindling sympathies of a noble nature hating unfairness and oppression of the weak. Hence his services to the cause were mainly of a polemic character, and he was rather the Ulrich von Hütten or the Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné of this movement, than the type of its spiritual character. It is perfectly obvious that his sympathies were even stronger with such men as Sidney, Hampden, and Locke, than with Fox, Loe, or the noisy peripatetics who shocked drowsy hirelings in steeple-houses, or fulminated to gaping crowds in market-places, with their testimony against the evil of the times. There is no evidence that he was ever very fondly regarded by Fox, but rather the contrary, in the absence of all confiding and commendatory allusion to him in Fox's private journal, such as we should expect to find with regard to one who rendered the cause such good service. Nor is there any-

thing in this fact that is surprising. Quakerism, from its origin in such a man as Fox, was a protest against all that was esteemed conformity to the world in dress, deportment, and manner of living; and with that pertinacious magnifying of little things, which our nature is always prone to when we lose sight of sober reason and revelation as our guides, it became fiercely intolerant about trifles, whilst denouncing an intolerance about matters of greater importance. This strain of opposition was entirely in accordance with the tastes of many of the early converts, but could not be fully embodied in the son of Admiral Penn, and the friend of Rochester and the two monarchs of the Restoration. He always retained a weakness for the creature comforts and even the elegancies of life, that was sorely scandalizing to his more cynical brethren, and was made the ground of bitter accusations. It is very easy to see that other feelings besides those of a holy indignation against worldly conformity might arise in the lean and gaunt apostles of Fox, when they saw Penn decked out in periwigs of the finest curl and powder, against which they had borne special testimony, and, together with his family, indulging in the gaudy superfluities of silk, and gold, and silver in their apparel; living in a house whose furniture had an elegance that made it vie with a palace; and keeping up a table that not only groaned with the dainties and delicacies of the palate, but also glittered with the elegancies and splendours of the side-board. Mr. Dixon himself, whilst attempting to deny this want of sympathy with his brethren, furnishes unconsciously at once the proof and the explanation of the fact in his own statements. He tells us distinctly that the men who stood by him in his misfortunes were not his fellow-Quakers, but such men as Rochester, Ranelagh, Tillotson, and Locke. And it is only this fact that can redeem the whole sect from a verdict of the most infamous ingratitude in thus forsaking him after his eminent services and sufferings for them. Did we believe that he enjoyed their sympathies and confidence wholly, as one of them in every respect, we should denounce them with indignant severity for thus deserting him in his hour of need. Admitting the fact we allege, we have an explanation of their conduct, which, whilst it cannot justify its ingratitude, yet relieves it from the charge of monstrous and unmitigated baseness.

The service rendered by Penn to his sect was very considerable. With that restless activity and enterprise that belonged to his English nature, he went forth as a missionary to proclaim these new doctrines on the continent. Here he at once gave and received impulses that continued to act long after his missionary tour was ended. In visiting Holland, he came in contact with some of those exiles for

conscience' sake who were looking to the New World as the theatre for the establishment of their principles; and dreams of a holy commonwealth began to arise in his mind, which were afterwards to be embodied in the experiment of Pennsylvania. His labours also at home, in battling for the new faith with his tongue and pen, were by no means inconsiderable. His fluency and ready memory gave him great advantages in oral discussion, whilst a smooth, and at times somewhat energetic style of expression, in spite of his tendency to what Burnet calls "a tedious, luscious way of talking," gave fitting expression to his thoughts. Here also he used to great advantage the treasures that he had accumulated, and the polemic subtilty and skill he had acquired under Owen, at Oxford, and Amyrault, at Saumur; and the *Catenæ Patrum*, and *Loci Communes*, which now seem to us such stores of learned lumber, were wielded with no small effect in that age of theological dialectics.

But, perhaps, his greatest services were rendered in the social and civil relations of the new sect. The public adherence of such a man tended to redeem the new movement from the character of absolute vulgarity, and shield it from that utter contempt with which men generally would be disposed to regard it. But contempt was not the only influence to be dreaded. Hatred and open hostility, the more intense because of the mingling of political and religious feelings so closely in that day, were visited on the Quakers, not only in acts of popular violence, but also in the rigorous enforcement of laws, which, however at variance with English liberty in its essential principles, yet found their place on the English statute-book. And whilst we cannot, with Mr. Dixon, consider Penn as placing the rights of juries, and the guarantees of prisoners, in the commanding position which they now hold, by his own individual trial, yet we must admit that it was one of the battles that was fought for these great principles, and that in contesting the positions taken by the court, he did a valuable service not only to his sect, but also to his nation. And whilst we cannot fully reconcile his course with his principles of passive non-resistance, yet this is but in accordance with the general view we have taken of his Christian and Quaker character. That he was not bound by his principles to obey a bad law is true, but that this unresisting passivity, which his sect proclaimed as Christian meekness, was consistent with an attempt to induce, first the court, and then the jury, to set aside the law, and assume the power of annulling and virtually repealing it, whilst they had sworn to decide under and according to the law; and also with his influence in prevailing upon the imprisoned jurors to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus* for their discharge,—that such sturdy and man-

ful battling for victory, even in a good cause, was exactly Quakerish, is a fact which many will be slow to perceive. But the world owes many of its greatest blessings to the inconsistency of its benefactors, and will judge much more leniently of the man who is inconsistently right, than of him who is always consistently wrong. But, however we may decide the questions of casuistry that arise here, it is obvious that the bold and successful stand that was taken by Penn in regard to this species of legal persecution, was the means of saving his compeers from much petty annoyance and harassing difficulty.

The connexion of Penn with James II. presents nothing which, with our view of his Christian character, was inconsistent with his duties or relations. It is true, that had he been a disciple of the grain of blunt old Fox, there might have arisen between the Quaker and the Papist some exciting discussions about mass-houses, rag-religion, and unseemly vanities, if not on graver topics; but we regard the absence of these things in the connexion between the monarch and subject, as equally consistent with the good sense and good manners of both, and not inconsistent with the sincerity of each in his religious professions. The relations between James and Penn were produced by two causes, the first of which was highly honourable to both, and the second at least highly natural in view of the circumstances of the case. Admiral Penn was the friend of the Stuarts in their exile and misfortune, and descended even to treachery to advance their interests, and after their restoration to power continued their loyal and devoted subject in a department of service in which his eminent abilities were peculiarly valuable, and in which England had a special pride. It was, therefore, natural that he should be regarded with special favour, and that when, on his death-bed, he commended his son to the royal favour, James, then Duke of York, should undertake his guardianship out of affection to the dying hero. This guardianship he exercised before he ascended the throne, and before his patronage could be referred to any motives of state policy. This was the first and main cause of the intimacy thus so strangely existing between the republican Quaker and the despotic Papist. The second cause was one which cannot be regarded as seriously open to objection. Penn was contending as a Quaker for liberty of conscience, because he believed that it was sinful to repress the manifestations of the inward light, and unjust to deprive an Englishman of the power of doing what was not morally wrong. James was desirous of obtaining this liberty because he himself needed its protection, and because thus his designs in introducing Popery could the more effectually be promoted. Different, however, as were their motives, the

result aimed at was the same—the abolition of all penal restrictions on religious belief; and therefore it was not surprising that both, feeling themselves to be weak, should seek mutually to strengthen one another in attaining a common end. As Quaker and Papist were classed together in common hate and hostility, and oppressed by common disabilities of law, it is not matter of surprise that they should unite in striving to obtain common safety and protection. Such a union was, under the circumstances, natural in the highest degree.

Mr. Dixon devotes an extra chapter to “the Macaulay charges,” which he denies, and tries to disprove with great spirit, and as to the most serious of them, with success. But with that proneness to hero-worship which seems to be strong in his nature, he thinks it needful to show that, because Macaulay is wrong about some things, he is wrong about everything, and that his hero is the very Bayard of the broad-brimmed chivalry. This claim, however, has certainly not been made out either by Dixon or Forster for William Penn.

Mr. Dixon reduces Macaulay's charges to five; the first of which is, that Penn's connexion with James in 1684, caused his own sect to look coldly upon him. Mr. D. replies to this, that “his only authority for this statement is Gerard Croese, a Dutchman, who was never in England in his life,” and that the records of the society show that he was in good standing. Now it so happens that Mr. D. has wholly blundered in replying to this charge, missing its vulnerable point, replying to a charge which was not made, and asserting a fact which was not true. It is not only not true that Croese was never in England, but the evidence of this fact is found in the very passage quoted by Macaulay. And the fact exhibited from the Society Records does not bear on the charge, any more than the fact that Thomas Jefferson was elected to high office and never impeached proves that there was no suspicion and dislike felt toward him. The allegation is not of anything publicly and formally expressed, but of coldness and dislike, which would naturally take a less open form. The proof that this feeling exists is spread out on Dixon's own pages. The only point where the charge is really vulnerable is overlooked by Mr. Dixon. It is in assigning the cause of this want of cordiality solely to his connexion with James. It had other causes, as we have suggested, more creditable to Penn, and perhaps less creditable to his associates, although not involving anything in them at variance with the common laws of human nature.

The second charge, that Penn “extorted money” from the girls of Taunton for the maids of honour, is the most serious, and is fully

set aside by Mr. Dixon. He gives eight reasons against this charge, the first of which is, that the letter on which it was based was directed to George Penne, and not to William Penn. Now this is really all that is needed, and the other points raised are like the twelve reasons that were proffered for the absence of a juror, the first of which was that he was dead—a reason which was deemed wholly satisfactory by the Court, and the others were dispensed with. Mr. D. having clearly made out that it was Penne, not Penn, who was engaged in this mean business, the charge must be withdrawn, and we believe has been withdrawn by Macaulay himself. That it should ever have been made by one who had studied the high and honourable character of Penn in all pecuniary transactions, is certainly somewhat surprising.

In regard to the other charges, we believe that Mr. D. has adduced proof that satisfactorily establishes the substantial innocence of Penn, although in some cases he does not fairly meet the statements of Macaulay. In the transaction with Kiffin, all that Mr. D. adduces is negative, as far as respects the charge that James prevailed on Penn to use his influence with Kiffin to accept the aldermanship, and that this influence was ineffectual. It may be true that Penn did advise Kiffin to the step, and yet that his advice was not at first followed, whilst afterwards, when stronger influences were brought to bear, the office was accepted. But the charge itself really involves no guilt on the part of Penn, considering his relations with the king.

Mr. Dixon also indulges in the heroics somewhat, at the remark of Macaulay that Penn had become "a tool of the king and the Jesuits," and utters some very indignant bursts of eloquent interrogation concerning Penn's boldness and decided Protestantism. Now the remark of Macaulay contains no imputation on either, for his employment as a tool of Jesuitical intrigue was not with his complete knowledge of the extent of the designs which he was employed to further. He was an unconscious instrument, and unconscious because of the very unsuspecting nobleness of his nature, and the more effectual because of the simple integrity of purpose with which he acted. The crafty Jesuits used him as they have so often used noble natures, and are using them at this hour, by playing upon the very excellencies of their character, and enlisting them in their service. All that is proved there, by such a charge, is, that Penn was not as wily or profound a plotter as those with whom he was associated by circumstances; a fact which few persons will regard as much to his disadvantage.

As far, then, as these charges seriously affect the Christian char-

acter of Penn, we believe they have been successfully answered by his defenders; but as far as they show him to be a man of like weaknesses and foibles with his fellows, we regard the effort at vindication as at once unnecessary and unsuccessful. Penn, although a decided Quaker, was neither an ascetic nor a mystic, nor did he deem it necessary to become a bare-footed friar because he had become a Christian. His aim was not to go out of the world, but to be delivered from its evil; and whilst, according to the rules of St. Dominic, and, indeed, according to the rules of honest old George, as expounded by such teachers as Bugg, (the man with the unsavoury name, as Southey calls him,) he cannot be canonized as a saint, yet, according to the broad and liberal canons of the word of God, he can be welcomed and loved by us as a Christian.

The third aspect in which we see him is, as a *colonist*. This portion of his life is set forth in ample detail by Mr. Dixon, and the perusal of it will excite feelings of the liveliest admiration for the energy of the colonist, and of the profoundest melancholy in view of the obstinacy and ingratitude which he encountered in his great enterprise. His thoughts were directed to this work by his disappointments in England. An ardent friend of liberty, and trembling for its fate in the feeble hands of Charles II., he strained every nerve to have Algernon Sidney returned to parliament, and succeeded, but was disappointed by the treachery and intrigue of the royalists, who procured his rejection from the house, although twice legally elected. Disheartened by these iniquitous measures, he began to look around him for some more hopeful field for the culture of these great principles of liberty. His eyes were naturally directed to that land of hope, the New World, concerning which his youthful enthusiasm had been kindled by his father's stories of the tropical splendour of the West Indies, and his later expectations excited by the Holland emigrants, who sought on the shores of New-England "freedom to worship God." Fortunately circumstances opened up a way by which these longings could be gratified. His father had bequeathed to him claims on the government for money lent, and arrearages of pay, amounting to fifteen thousand pounds, equivalent to near fifty thousand in our day. The empty exchequer of Charles was of course unable to meet such a claim, after its lavish squanderings on scandalous and worthless favourites, and hence payment was from time to time postponed. Penn now proposed to take in satisfaction for his claim a portion of the crown lands in the New World. This claim was opposed by the royalists, because of the republican notions he meant to ingraft on the colony; and a thousand delays, and vexations, and disappointments were invented

to baffle and defeat the project. At length, however, he succeeded, and a charter was made out for a tract of land, which Penn wished to name New-Wales, or Sylvania, but Charles, in honour of his father, called Pennsylvania. Of the vast region thus deeded away, he was made absolute proprietor. His next step was to devise a plan of settlement and government for his new colony, which he did, with the aid of his friend Sidney; and although we cannot, with Mr. Dixon, find in this the germ of the United States and the fountain of American liberty, yet we can unite with him in regarding it as a remarkable proof of the sagacity and political wisdom of its framers. To which of them it owes most, we cannot now decide; but there is honour enough for both, thus to throw themselves so far in advance of the ideas of their generation, and embody so fully the great principles of civil and religious liberty. Having determined the plan, the next step was to obtain suitable emigrants, which, in that restless and dissatisfied age, was not a matter of much difficulty. When it was understood that the enthusiastic follower of Fox, and the high-hearted friend of Sidney, had matured the plan of "a holy experiment" on the virgin soil of the west, in which the dreams of Harrington, More, and Locke should be gloriously embodied, many were found ready to flock around his standard. Accordingly, expeditions were soon fitted out, and in due time the proprietor himself followed, and began his noble and arduous work. He organized the government, embodying in it his principles of peace and justice; laid out a great city; made treaties with the Indians, of which Voltaire sarcastically said, that they were the only ones never sworn to, and never broken; and founded his new republic on principles the most wise, equitable, and comprehensive. Having finished this work he returned to England.

Now, however, his days began to be darkened with thick and gloomy clouds. The scenes that followed the accession and expulsion of James, and the breaking out of the French war involved him in great trouble. Under pretext that his Quaker principles were incompatible with the safety of the colony, and the military defence of the country, he was deprived of its government by an order of council, which annexed it to that of New-York. The blow was a sudden and crushing one. His whole fortune had been expended on his colony, so that one hundred and twenty thousand pounds would not cover the loss. The cherished dreams of his life were embodied in this "holy experiment," which now seemed about to be wrested from his hand. His Irish estates were ruined by the war of the revolution. His English property was covered up with fraudulent claims by the villanous Fords, whom he had so confidently trusted.

He was thus reduced to poverty from an unbounded affluence, menaced with disgrace, threatened with illegal prosecutions, harassed with perjurers and slanderers, robbed of his proprietary rights, and to crown the crushing weight of misfortune, his high and noble-hearted wife, the lovely Guli, died, and left him to struggle with the gathering sorrows that thickened around, in loneliness and bereavement. We know of few sadder sights in history than Penn at this midnight of his life. But the cup of his bitterness was not yet full. In consequence of the resistance offered by the colonial government to Col. Fletcher, the royal deputy, it was actually proposed to withdraw the charter, and thus rob him of his land. He was aroused from the depth of his grief by this new outrage, and desirous of going to America to adjust the difficulty. But he was actually too poor to pay the outfit. He bethought himself of his colonists on whom he had expended a princely fortune, and who were at that time owing him a large amount of quit-rents. He therefore wrote a letter, in which he touchingly laid bare his poverty, and asked those who were in his debt to loan him a few thousands, that he might come out and shield them from this threatened outrage. To their eternal disgrace, they refused the loan, and even made his misfortunes the occasion of trying to exact new privileges from his generous and yielding nature. We wonder not that this utter baseness called forth such indignant complaints from him, and disturbed the quiet placidity of his usual mildness. That the colonists should be ever grasping increased grants of power, disputing his authority over them, and striving to limit his prerogative was the natural result of the unnatural mixture of feudalism and democracy that existed in his constitution; but that they should refuse to pay their lawful dues, neglect him in his misfortune, decline even a loan in his poverty, when they had in their own hands security for repayment, and make his very weakness the pretext for fresh rapacity, shows a thorough meanness and ingratitude of nature that hold them up to execration and contempt.

But matters began soon to brighten somewhat, as this chequered life wore nearer to its sunset. His government was restored to him by an order in council, and the sunshine friends who forsook him in his adversity began to return as the clouds dispersed. But his troubles were still not ended. He returned to Pennsylvania, intending to spend the remainder of his life in elegant retirement at Pennsbury, on the Delaware. But before he had been long there, he was alarmed by hearing of a new attempt in England to wrest from him his charter, and thus rob him of his property. Calling the colonial assembly together he urged them to take such steps as would remove

all pretext for this high-handed outrage, promising them all aid in his power in placing the colony on a permanent basis. Instead of responding to his generous patriotism, they again attempted to wring out of his misfortune some gain for themselves, and presented him a long list of the most exorbitant and exacting demands, as insulting as they were unjust. Penn, however, calmly reasoned with them, until they became ashamed of their most rapacious demands, and were reduced to less outrageous terms; but to the last they refused to take on themselves the expenses of their own government, which he had all along borne from his private means, and forced him to the necessity of selling land to raise the means of returning to England. At length he returned; and although the project of wresting the charter from him was abandoned, other troubles met him. The Fords, his sly and villanous agents, trumped up an enormous account against him, which, proven as it was by perjury, was forced to extreme process, and the generous old man, by whose unsuspecting confidence they were enabled to defraud him so basely, was arrested in meeting, and in his old age thrown into prison, because of his inability to pay an unjust debt. At length this matter was adjusted; but new difficulties appeared in the colony. Penn desired to return, but could not because of his poverty. Again he asked them for aid, desiring only the settlement of a stated salary upon him as governor. But again, with consistent meanness, his brethren refused to grant his request. He then wrote them a calm and touching letter, reciting his sleepless anxieties, his sacrifices, and his poverty, all endured for their sakes, and then offered to transfer them to the crown, if they desired the change. His letter seems to have produced a good effect, and the next session of the assembly was more rational and grateful, so that the old man's heart was gladdened by the evidence of returning reason, before he passed away.

But before a second assembly could convene he was beyond the influence of earthly trouble. Repeated strokes of palsy reduced him to a second childhood, and although for five years he lingered on, enjoying comparatively good health, the free and manly intellect was gone. His sole employment was gambolling with the children, and gazing at the beautiful furniture of his mansion with infantile delight. The powers of speech and memory gradually left him; and although there lingered a sweet and holy radiance about his wrecked nature, like a twilight on the columns of the Parthenon, yet it only made the more touching and mournful the shattered nobleness that it illumined. At length, after the columns of his earthly tabernacle had been gently taken down one by one, the final summons came, and without a struggle, or a gleam of conscious recognition of the weeping ones

who hung above the shattered ruins of the weary and wayworn pilgrim, he fell asleep, as the first gray dappings of the dawn were brightening in the sky, on the morning of July 30, 1718. His end at least was peace.

Such was William Penn, the courtier, the Christian, and the colonist, whose life, though stormy and eventful to a degree unusual even in an age of event and storm, yet may be said to have had two childhoods and two deaths. Without being intellectually great, he did that by the unity, energy, and directness of his purposes which greatness failed to accomplish; and without being that faultless monster which his eulogists endeavour to depict him, he was a high-souled, manly, and open-hearted Englishman, a friend who never shrank from avowing his affection, a patriot who scorned to conceal his sentiments, and a Christian who was never ashamed of his cross. Although we cannot, with Mr. Dixon, make him the Romulus or Lycurgus of American liberty, yet we recognise his wisdom, pacific policy, and liberal views as among the most important elements that go to form the inheritance we enjoy, and his embodied influence in the colony he founded as giving marked and decided tone to many of our institutions. Without being either a myth, a hero, or a martyr, his rare combination of excellencies has exalted him into a species of mythical apotheosis, his success has invested him with a halo of heroism, and his sufferings have imparted to his life some of the sublime interest of martyrdom. Inferior to many of his contemporaries in separate qualities, he yet combined the available in faculties with the advantageous in circumstances, so as to accomplish that which they attempted in vain. Of his biographer we have only space to say, that he has done a good service to the memory of his hero, although failing to accomplish much that he has attempted. But we are bound in justice to add, that this failure arises from the impossibility of the case rather than from the inability of the writer; and our only objection is that he has had the folly to attempt what was impossible, and thus to render a partial failure certain. If he has not made a hero out of a warm, noble-hearted, and active Englishman, he has at least shown us that, in the various aspects under which we see William Penn, he was a man to be admired, loved, and even revered, and one whose memory the world will not, soon or willingly, permit to die.

ART. VIII.—POSITIVE SCIENCE.

Vestiges of Civilization ; or, the Aetiology of History, Religious, Aesthetical, Political and Philosophical. New-York: H. Bailliere. 1851.

THE work before us is the first-fruit in this country of the *Positive Philosophy* of Auguste Comte, of which a survey is given in a former article in our present number. The author admits that he owes his "fundamental principle" to M. Comte, whom he styles the "greater Newton, succeeding the greater Kepler, of social and universal science." But the disciple is not only bold enough, like his master, to differ from all previous thinkers, but also to extend the views of the master himself, if not to forsake them in a most important application of the fundamental principle, as will further appear in our brief analysis of the work.

But before entering upon this analysis, we must characterize the work briefly, at least in some of its more prominent, though accidental, attributes. The task of the book is no less than to constitute a scientific theory (*the scientific theory its author would say*) of universal nature and universal knowledge, by which both are brought under *one and the same law of progressive evolution*. It is, in a word, the great project, so often essayed by philosophers, both ancient and modern, from Thales and Xenophanes down to Fichte and Hegel, of explaining and determining the *knowable*. And yet the author concludes, in his introduction, that "a theory, thus comprising all principles and comprised in all experience, may be made evident and irresistible to the plainest understanding;" and he hopes "to give the largest generality of readers a conception, clear and consecutive, of both the natural laws of civilization and the essential conditions of science!" A more conclusive proof could hardly be furnished that he belongs to the

Gens ratione ferox et mentem pasta chimæris.

And like all the rest of the tribe he dogmatizes throughout with the loftiest confidence that *his* theory is *the* theory—that the organism of the universe is in his hands, and that the law of development, for man and nature, after struggling through the darkness of ages, has at last found its expounder—not even in Auguste Comte, but in the author of the "*Vestiges of Civilization!*" To this complexion the thing comes at last, notwithstanding the author's disclaimer—repeated at intervals through the work when some new burst of his own arrogance or irreverence has awakened even his slumbering modesty—of individual claims to pre-eminence, except of position.

Quite consistent with this self-assumed superiority, as the oracle of the new and final *instauratio scientiarum*, is the writer's systematic depreciation of theology, of theologians, and of spiritual religion, throughout the work. No possible opportunity for a sneer is ever lost; and when the finer edge cannot be employed, the writer does not disdain to employ ribaldry as thorough, and, we regret to say, as vulgar, as that of Paine. The Hebrew Bible is for him "a crude miscellany," less ripe than the collections of Trismegistus—"a farago of nursery tales, imagined two or three thousand years ago, by a handful of scrofulous barbarians." The "priesthood" were the "professional executioners of early days, and are, in *all* days, too full of the *afflatus* of divinity to have place for humanity in their hearts. It is upon society, alone, that the holy men in question feed, and feast, and fatten." The apologist for the Bible must either justify it on the ground of the infantile imbecility of the Jewish mind, or "excuse it for indecencies which would be thought too disgusting, by a voluptuary of any refinement, to insert in a book of obscenity." The writer who can thus insult the cherished convictions of millions of his fellows—nay, of the wisest and best among those millions—shows himself as destitute of discretion as he is of decency. His whole procedure in this regard seems to us to lack few of the elements of madness. Even the heathen oracles were too sane to disgust their auditors: this climax of folly remained to be achieved by the hierophant of the "Age of Science."

But the theologians may take comfort; the blows of our author's ponderous bludgeon fall as heavily upon all other classes of thinkers. According to him, the "historians" have never produced anything but "a jumble of opinions without consistency and of facts without cohesion;" Niebuhr is but a "reputed reformer," and Prescott writes history "with the philosophy of a fairy tale." The metaphysicians have produced nothing but "reveries;" Mr. Whewell sets up "the conceptive capacity of a clergyman as the model of all truth and the measure of all creation;" the sphere of philology "has never yet been penetrated by a steady ray of science." These are but slight indications of the spirit of the book throughout—a spirit unworthy of the genuinely scientific mind which the author of this book unquestionably possesses.

Another feature, so prominent as to force itself upon our attention everywhere, is the writer's almost servile deference to the French mind, and his consequent depreciation of the English and the German intellect. The Frenchman not only speaks "the most perfect, without a second, of human tongues," but is, *eo nomine*, a philosopher; while the English mind is essentially unscientific and unconstructive;

and the German "wallows in a chaos of crudities."* Injustice to the German mind is flagrant on almost every page of the work; and this, too, while the writer is obviously ignorant of a sentence of the language, and owes his half-knowledge of the theories he dismisses so summarily wholly to French or English translators or expositors! To this ignorance he is indebted for one of his "pregnant and pertinent proofs" that the French mind is now ripe for philosophical history:—"The word *historical*," he says, "is not used in French, as in our own and other idioms, to denote a mere matter of record, but is now become significant of matter of fact, in contradistinction to matter of fable!" How long the German language preceded the French in this use of the word we leave our author to find out; while we beg to assure him, that inaccuracies like this, so positively offered, go far to weaken our confidence in his verifications in general. And in quitting these general views upon his book, we tell him also that if we were disposed to retort upon him even the slightest measure of the sarcasm he so lavishes upon Christianity and Christian ministers, it would be the easiest thing in the world to draw from his own book materials enough so instinct with the *ridiculous*, that no skill of ours would be requisite to barb the arrow—no malignity to poison it. But

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis

is the sacred cause of truth and of God to be defended. The author is a man of profoundly scientific mind—his work is one of the most logically concatenated treatises we have ever read—and we trust, spite of all the provocations he has given us, to treat both him and his book as they deserve to be treated—on scientific grounds. We proceed then to our summary analysis, only regretting that our limits bind us to the closest brevity of exposition.

The *object* of the work is, as we have stated, identical with that of those philosophers, in all times, who have sought to construct universal systems. But all previous systems, according to the Positive Philosophy, rested upon assumptions which were, moreover, metaphysical or negative phantasies, such as the Universal Unity, the Ego, the Absolute, the Forms of the Understanding, &c. And they were not only chimerical, but incomplete—leaving unbridged the gulf between Man and Nature. Thus Schelling's notion of the *Absolute* implies an opposition between Man and Nature not less than does the all-creative Ego of Fichte; for it, too, makes mind and man the measure of the universe. All these theories (hypothe-

* Strange that the French mind, all scientific as it is, should have paid so little heed to the new Apostle of Science, that M. Comte's great work on Sociology (his crowning task) cannot find a publisher in Paris!

ses, rather) are well compared by our author to "a squirrel in a revolving cage." Unlike these, or any other attempts of the kind, the work before us attempts to reduce the two elements of mind and nature to the same genetical laws, under a conception of real or *positive objectivity*—and this, too, the objectivity not of *entities*, material or mental, but of *relation*. And, what is still more strikingly characteristic of the work, it seeks to found this law upon a *pure induction of facts*, in all the sciences and to all the senses.

To *Sense* there are two facts indubitable and fundamental: 1. The existence of what we call *matter*, or, more strictly, its impression upon, or rather its *relation* to the percipient. 2. The *changes* of such relations, as continuous, or as recurring after intervals of disappearance. But these last form the group of conditions which we name *Motion, Space, and Time*. So certain are all and each of these, when properly viewed as *relations*, that it is absurd to deny and impossible to disbelieve them. Moreover, each member of this group implies the other; and while *they* presuppose no special object or phenomenon in the universe, there is no known or even imaginable object in which they are not presupposed. These three are the only postulates of the new theory; and it must be owned that few demonstrations could offer a more simple and reliable basis. So much for the facts of *sense*.

The facts of *Science* on which the theory is finally rested, are the same elementary facts of Sensation, generalized into the abstract conceptions termed Laws. In this maturer form, they are recognised in the triad of sciences called Mathematics—in the laws (or general relations) of Number, Extension, and Figure. The certainty of these is axiomatic and proverbial. And with these few and familiar elements the theory is ready to proceed on its adventurous way. Motion passing Matter by progressive preponderance from the primordial state of indefinite diffusion (Number) into a state of special direction, (Extension,) and bringing inevitably two or more such formations into opposition (Figure)—in other terms, Gravitation, Affinity, Polarity—this is the triad of forces by whose incessant revolution upon its previous results, accumulating through an eternity of ages, the theory before us pretends to evolve the whole fair universe, in all its past history and in all its present phases—including the Human Mind and the Social System, its highest development! It is the very Gospel of Materialism.

The writer puts the system to a crucial test in boldly applying it to the Social System, which is, as we have said, the last development of the human mind. The highest term of an organic series includes and images all the rest; and so the history of Humanity, in its aggre-

gate evolution, must reproduce, though of course on an enormously complicated scale, the successive triplicity of the three laws of *all* formation as above given. This three-fold division is supplied to the author in Comte's law of historical progression or of social evolution, viz., that the human mind, science, and society, pass through three successive stages, the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Positive.* The author divides his work, according to this law of evolution, into three cycles, which, by a modification of Comte's nomenclature, he calls the Mythological, the Metaphysical, and the Scientific. This modification, however, implies no substantial change; but in the use of the term Metaphysical our author somewhat differs from Comte, who characterizes the Metaphysical epoch as philosophizing upon "entities," whereas in the work before us these entities themselves are resolved into the type of Will. So, also, the "divinities" and "laws" of Comte's theological and positive eras respectively, are here resolved into the subjective principles of Sensation and Reason. But, as we remarked in the beginning, the writer essays a far bolder flight than even Comte, in the full establishment of his theory. The French philosopher discovered his law, and still maintains it, upon purely empirical grounds. He does not attempt to explain *how* things came to be as they are, but confines himself to their actual existence and operations. He formally disclaims all *genetic* causation—not that he denies it, but only insists that its mode and conditions are unattainable to the human faculties. This *petitio principii* is the fatal flaw in Comte's system; and our author attempts no less than to remedy it by *supplying* the genetic causation or explication, which he not only seeks to carry down through the mental elements and epochs of civilization, but also to extend back through all physical creation.

The three-fold arrangement of the work is, according to our author, "a compound and necessary result (1) of the logical organization of the mind conceiving, (2) of the cosmical order among the things to be conceived, and (3) of the consequent Modes of the Conception." These three factors are explained in a preliminary Part, which treats, in three chapters, I. of the Human Mind, II. of Cosmical Nature, III. of Method. All these are treated *analytically*; and herein the author differs from most system-makers, who generally, after fixing their principles, proceed dogmatically upon them. Nay more, as if in bravado of confidence in his theory, he gives his analysis in the order above stated, though, according to the law of evolution, he should have begun with the World instead of the Mind. His first attempt then is to detect the normal triplicity of his general law in the recognised attributes of the mind, which he resolves into the one

* See page 30 of this Review.

single faculty of Perception, developing itself progressively under nine processes in passing through the triple formulas as repeated in the three cycles. These processes are

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1st. Cycle | Sensation, Memory, Imagination, |
| 2d. do. | Reflection, Abstraction, Generalization, |
| 3d. do. | Reasoning, Comparison, Method. |

To complete the furniture of the mature intellect, you must add the *generic* or *conceptive* principles of which these triads are species; and these prove to be the types of the three cycles, viz., Sensation, (or Life,) Will, and Reason. To corroborate these analytic results the author goes into a wide induction of facts, from Mathematics even up to Theology; for the theory, be it remembered, is to *solve all questions within the sphere of the human intellect*. The mathematical corroboration is drawn from Plato's doctrine of the triangle: the moral, from the stages of individual growth, viz., Infancy, Adolescence, and Maturity, (animal, moral, rational :) the physiological, from the three centres of vital organism—the stomach, the heart, and the brain: the historical, from the traditional attribution of the mental functions to each of these organs: the theological from the trinities of all duly developed religions. We need hardly recall Schelling to the minds of our philosophical readers while they survey this universal evolution of triplicity. Schelling proved it as well from his stand-point of objective idealism, as our author from his bold materialism. But in point of logical skill, the latter is certainly equal to the former. The second chapter of this first part treats, as we have said, of the Constitution of Nature, and the third, of Universal Method. The double mode of procedure before indicated is carried through both these chapters; but our space forbids us to enter upon their details. The result of the second chapter is a resolution of the external world into the sole agency of Motion, disposing matter under three progressive combinations of attributes, and composing each upon three subordinate but similar forms of existences—both resulting in three predicables and nine categories, as follows :—

Predicables.	Categories.
Co-existence,	Number, Quantity, Figure,
Co-occurrence,	Force, Mixture, Structure,
Co-operation,	Growth, Life, Mind.

In the third chapter Method is defined to be "the means of placing the perceiving mind upon the track of creative nature." Its type or fundamental form is found in Induction. Here, again, unable to follow the steps of the analysis, we can only state its results, viz., that "the universal method of Induction, in leading the human mind throughout the labyrinth of nature," accomplishes the route by three

systematic surveys, with three similar and subordinate stages to each as follows, viz. :—

Systems.	Methods.
Logic . . .	Enumeration: Analogy: Syllogism:
Analytic . .	Observation: Instrumentation: Experimentation:
Synthetic . .	Deduction: Classification: Taxonomy.*

In the conclusion of the chapter the results are brought together and verified by a classification of the sciences, which consists, in fact, in little more than changing the terms employed in the different categories into technical forms, and subordinating them all, in strict accordance with all previous developments of the system, into a final formula, the science of humanity, viz., CIVILIZATION. And here he goes beyond Comte (who refers the moral and intellectual operations to the category of mere natural or physical man, but under the term *Social Physics*) in placing Humanity at the head of the scale as an organic unity,—“a *being* whose constituent elements are the mass of human individuals; whose distinguishing attributes are language, reflection, reason; and whose organic structure is composed of arts, institutions, and sciences.”

The fourth chapter gives an analysis of Motive, which, quite consistently with the character of the whole system, makes Pain and Pleasure, in reference to individuals, Evil and Good with reference to society, the supreme, nay, the *sole* motives of the human mind.

After having thus constructed, and, as he supposes, established his system, our author proceeds in Part II. to apply it to the history of all arts, institutions, systems, and religions through what he calls the Mythological and the Metaphysical ages successively. As for the Scientific age, he only claims to be its herald, not its historian. His course is marked, throughout, by the same acuteness that we have so freely accorded to the former steps of the investigation. It is out of the question for us to attempt even a summary of the procedure. Our imperfect analysis of the work will suffice to show to all who are interested in such speculations, that no such comprehensive attempt at the construction of a scientific system has ever been made on American soil—nor, indeed, upon English. Purposing to return to the work, if possible, for a more full examination than is now possible, and for such a refutation of its errors, both of theory and of application, as we may be able to offer, we can only now make a remark or two upon its tendency.

The whole scheme, as we have seen, is materialistic to the highest

* For *taxonomy* we suppose the author meant to coin the word *taxinomy*. The book abounds in inaccuracies of typography, and in inaccuracies, besides, for which the author is responsible. For many of these the undue haste with which the book was written offers no apology. The book and the world could both have afforded to wait a little longer.

degree. On its basis the conception of Deity is a mere generalization of experience—and the last work of the human mind, in clearing its way to *science*, is to get rid of that conception entirely. The idea of a Divine Designer of the universe is but a relic of the superstitious infancy of the human race. Of course, the notion of final causes is absurd. The morality of the scheme is, as is quite necessary, the lowest and meanest sensualism. The freedom of the will is a chimaera—the will itself “is a mere effect.” Human *rights* are “entitled appetites.” Romanism is the true type of Christianity; and the Jesuit maxim, that “the end sanctifies the means,” has “never been refuted on Christian principles, and never can be.”

Can that system be *philosophical*, which leads to these results? No—it is the negation of philosophy—it is, in fact, the assertion that philosophy is impossible, for it ignores all the *real* questions of philosophy as out of its sphere. It declares that *all* knowledge is limited to the recognition of phenomena, and to the explanation of merely phenomenal laws. The consequences of this position were fully set forth in the article on Philosophy and Faith in our number for April, 1851, and we need not repeat them here. The fundamental vice of the exclusive procedure of the Positive Philosophy is abundantly exposed in that article, and in the first of our present number; and to these, with the one to follow in our April number, we commend our readers for a full exhibition of the limits and the faults of that philosophy. We do not fear any harm to Christianity from the widest application of the Positive Method to the world of *phenomena*. But so miserable is the failure of the grand attempt before us, when the author seeks to apply it to subjects beyond its sphere, that a sentence or two will suffice to indicate it. The Bible, according to this writer, is a “farrago of nursery tales,” originating in the “infantile imbecility” of the Jewish mind. Now *monotheism* is the turning point from the “Mythological” to the “Metaphysical” cycles, and the author himself employs the first chapter of Genesis to inaugurate the advent of his second epoch. The “infantile” mind of the race of “scrofulous barbarians” had anticipated the progress of the universal mind of the race by fifteen hundred years! How does our author account for this? Why, by the vague assertion that Moses “*might have imported a species of personal monotheism, then breaking upon the van of the Egyptian intellect!*” That the human mind has a range of thought *beyond* phenomena, and independent of them—so far as its sources are concerned—this is the indestructible position on which we rest: a position confirmed at once by the consciousness, and even by the experience of mankind, and verified by the failure of *every* system of metaphysics or of science which has sought or claimed to be universal.

ART. IX.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) IT is seldom we have the gratification of calling the attention of our readers to so important and valuable a work as "*The New Testament Expounded and Illustrated, according to the usual Marginal References, in the very words of Holy Scripture, together with the Notes and Translations, and a complete Marginal Harmony of the Gospels*," by CLEMENT MOODY, M. A." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1852; royal 8vo., pp. 655.) Every student of the Bible knows what floods of light the comparison of scripture with scripture throws upon the sacred text; the juxtaposition of parallel passages is often the best of commentaries. But the trouble and delay of making this comparison prevent ordinary readers from enjoying its benefits to the full extent; and besides, when one has turned to several passages, it is difficult to bear them all in mind at once. The work before us is designed to meet these difficulties, and does it most effectually, by *printing the parallel passages* in full, or so much of them as may be necessary to illustrate the text, at the foot of each page, in the form of a commentary. The sense of each reference is made complete in itself, so as to save all further search on the part of the reader, except only in those places where the text and the parallel are *identical* both in sentiment and language, where it would have been obviously useless to encumber the page with anything more than a reference. We shall be greatly mistaken if this does not turn out to be one of the most popular as well as most useful works ever issued from the Methodist Book Concern. It meets a want which is felt alike by the theologian, the ordinary reader of Scripture, and the Sabbath-school teacher—and we cordially commend it to *all* who really desire to "search the Scriptures."

(2.) WE have called the attention of our readers from time to time to the successive issues of the "*Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature and Art*," (New-York: Rudolph Garrigue,) as they have issued from the press; but our notices, given in this way, have been necessarily fragmentary and imperfect. The complete work now lies before us, and we must give it a more extended survey, though we regret that our space will allow us, even now, to give a notice by no means commensurate, either in extent or minuteness, with the magnitude and importance of the work.

The work is founded upon the "*Bilder Atlas zum Conversations-Lexicon*," just published in Leipzig, and edited by J. G. HECK. The American edition, which is in many respects a modification of the original rather than a translation, comprises four large 8vo. volumes, containing over 3,200 pages of text, with five hundred steel plates in quarto, including 12,000 separate figures. The title is sufficiently comprehensive to embrace the whole range of human knowledge, but Biography, Speculative Philosophy, and the Abstract Sciences in general, are expressly shut out; and even with this exclusion, it is obvious that the utmost power of compression must be employed to give even a sketch of the vast field of human knowledge in so compendious a form. Accordingly, the work is confined pretty strictly to a clear statement of the ascertained *facts*

of human knowledge, with the view of furnishing a book to which the general reader may safely apply for an explanation of the principal physical facts which come under his notice. The arrangement adopted is not alphabetical, but that of a systematic grouping of distinct treatises, according to their natural affinities. The work thus contains, in part, a series of text-books, many of which "are fuller in their details than most of the popular treatises of the day." Full tables of contents and indexes are given with each volume to facilitate occasional reference, giving the work all the advantage of the alphabetical arrangement.

The supervision of the whole work has been carried on by Professor S. F. BAIRD, formerly of Dickinson College, and now Assistant-Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute. We assured our readers, in our first announcement of the work, of Professor Baird's ample qualifications for the task of editing it, and we find all our promises more than confirmed by the result. Indeed, there has been no instance in this country in which a great literary task, involving the labour of many hands, and extending necessarily over a large space of time, has been so promptly completed according to its original promise, with so much credit both to editor and publisher, as the Iconographic Encyclopædia. The labour, in addition to actual translation, which has devolved upon the editor and his coadjutors, may be best learned by the following extract from the preface:—

"In undertaking an English version of the Iconographic Encyclopædia it was soon found that a literal translation of the original would not satisfy the wants of the American public. Written in and for Germany, the different subjects were treated of much more fully in relation to that country than to the rest of the world. In some articles, too, owing to the lapse of time or other causes, certain omissions of data occurred, which did not allow of their being considered as representing the present state of science, or as suiting the wants of the United States. This, therefore, has rendered it necessary to make copious additions, alterations, and abridgments in the respective translations; while, in some instances, it has been thought proper to rewrite entire articles. Several of these original papers have been prepared by the Editor, and the remainder kindly furnished by some of his friends. Some of these again have relieved him of the burden of translating, and have added much to the merit of their work by judicious alterations and additions; while others have revised his MSS. and enriched them with important suggestions. The authority and value of the assistance thus obtained will be sufficiently evident from the names of those who have so kindly rendered it. To all he here takes the opportunity of returning his warmest acknowledgments.

"The second volume, or the one containing Botany, Zoology, and Anthropology, has been entirely rewritten. The articles in it not prepared by the Editor are *Invertebrate Zoology*, by Prof. S. S. HALDEMAN; *Ornithology*, by JOHN CASSIN, Esq.; and *Mammalia*, by CHARLES GIRARD, Esq.

"The friends to whom he is indebted for careful revision of his MSS. are Prof. WOLCOTT GIBBS, (*Chemistry*;) Prof. J. D. DANA, (*Mineralogy*;) Prof. L. AGASSIZ, (*Geognosy and Geology*;) Dr. ASA GRAY, (*Botany*;) Dr. T. G. WORMLEY, (*Anatomy*;) and HERMAN LUDEWIG, Esq., (*Geography*.)

"Those who have assisted him by translating and editing entire articles are, WM. M. BAIRD, Esq., (*Ethnology of the Present Day*;) Major C. H. LARNED, U. S. Army, (*Military and Naval Sciences*;) F. A. PETERSEN, Esq., (*Architecture*;) Prof. CHAS. E. BLUMENTHAL, (*Mythology and Religious Rites*;) Prof. WM. TURNER, (*Fine Arts*;) and SAMUEL COOPER, Esq., (*Technology*.)"

It is not possible for us to go into a separate examination of the different divisions of the work. Suffice it to say, that while some are more carefully

elaborated than others, all are prepared with general fidelity and accuracy. The *plates* are far beyond anything heretofore given by way of graphic illustration to works of this class, and constitute, in part, a pictorial cyclopædia of human knowledge. We commend the work to all our readers who can command the money to buy it.

(3.) ON no subject are instruction and reproof more needed by the American people—line upon line and precept upon precept—than on the training of children. We welcome every book resting upon sound principles that treats of the topic, and none has appeared in which the fundamental grounds are sounder, and the practical advice clearer than "*The Government of Children*," by JOHN A. GERE, of the Baltimore Annual Conference." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 157.) If one lesson of this book,—viz., that the child's obedience must be secured in the first *months* of its conscious being,—were but sufficiently impressed upon the minds of parents, and wrought out in general practice, there would be more hope for the next generation. The work is divided into five chapters, of which the first treats of the government of habit, the second of government by the intonations of the voice, the third of government by authority, the fourth of government by reason and motives, while the fifth gives valuable miscellaneous advices. The book is a *practical* one, we have said; for Mr. Gere has himself done in his own household all that he advises others to do. We should rejoice to learn that the book had found its way into every Christian family in the land.

(4.) MRS. TUTHILL'S story books are of a class that may in general be freely recommended. They all aim, if not to diffuse pure religion, at least to inculcate the virtues, and to impress them upon the minds of youth. Such a book is "*Braggadocio, a book for Boys and Girls*." (New-York: Charles Scribner, 1851; 18mo., pp. 227.)

(5.) THE tide of emigration to California has abated, but yet there are, doubtless, multitudes still eager to seek their fortunes amid her golden sands. All such aspirants would do well to read "*Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings*," by DANIEL B. WOODS." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 199.) The book gives a graphic account of the labours and privations of the miner's life, and answers, quite satisfactorily, the practical question, "*Who should go to the mines?*"

(6.) "*Rambles in Europe; in a Series of Familiar Letters*," by Rev. M. TRAFTON, M. A." (Boston: C. H. Peirce & Co., 1852; 12mo., pp. 377.) The substance of this book appeared originally in "*Zion's Herald*" and the "*Ladies' Repository*." The letters were worth gathering into a volume, and we are glad to welcome it. Mr. Trafton observes well, and writes in an easy, spirited style, which always carries the reader along without weariness. The following is a specimen at once of the American "*go-aheadativeness*" of the writer, (to use his own phrase,) and of his style of writing:—

"I was very anxious to visit the House of Lords, as, indeed, all are who come to this city of wonders. But, then, you must know it is not an easy thing to get in; not that the entrance is so difficult, so narrow, or so steep, but the *rules*, my

friend, the *rules*. You do not expect to visit any *show-place*, or menagerie, without a permit, nor can you here. You must have a pass from a *peer*, or some grandee, or from your minister. And now, I had called on Mr. Lawrence, at 138 Piccadilly, but he was out of the city, and I had not the honour of an acquaintance, *then*, with any lord, and as Victoria and Albert were both out of the city, I was in a strait. But I must go in, for I could not return and be obliged to say I did not visit the House of Lords. My host sympathized with me, and so did my fellow-boarders. But, said I to them, I shall get into the House to-day! I feel thankful for that characteristic of the Yankees—*go-aheadativeness*.

"At twenty minutes to five I found myself opposite the Parliament House; a crowd was gathered to witness the gathering of the lords, temporal and spiritual, as they severally arrived and were set down at *their door*. Some in coach and outriders, some on horseback, attended by their grooms, some in a *dog-cart*: let not my readers imagine this a burlesque; a dog-cart is a most fashionable carriage, on two low wheels, with a box under the body for dogs, when going on shooting excursions.

"I directly saw the crowd running toward a particular point, and, turning my eyes in that direction, saw coming towards me an old gentleman on a bay horse, his knees drawn almost up to his saddle-bow, his chin dropped upon his breast, with an enormous excess of nose, projecting far ahead like the cut-water of a canal boat, his body, lank and lean, swaying right and left, a dull gray eye, and sunken cheeks, plainly dressed, with a silver star on his coat collar—and the conqueror of Napoleon rode past me! England's idol—the *iron duke*. Waterloo, with all its horrors, its thunder, its flames, its shouts, its furious charges, its shrieks, and groans, and agonies, its destinies, and results, all came floating past. How many wives has that feeble old man made widows—how many mothers childless! Look at him, as his well-trained horse walks slowly past; it was next to seeing Napoleon. You see only a man, and one of no remarkable talents; cool and self-possessed—his great quality obstinacy. 'You can almost hear *that*, as his head drops upon his breast at each step of his horse—'I won't.' I was glad to have seen this man on horseback for the first time; I saw him next in the House of Lords.

"It was now full five o'clock, and the House opens at this hour. But I am not yet in.

"I decided the matter at once. Taking one of my cards from my pocket, I hastily wrote under my name the magic words, 'Boston, United States;' then marching boldly up to the sentry at the outer door, I handed it to him, remarking, 'Send this card to Lord Brougham.' He passed it to another, and I followed it into the ante-room; in a few minutes out came the noble lord; I bowed—he seized my hand and shook it with great cordiality. 'I am happy to see you, sir; I will introduce you to the House, sir; come in, sir.' I followed him, of course, supposing he would give me in charge of some lacquey, who would conduct me to some quiet place in the gallery, where I could see without being seen; but ah,

'The plans of mice and men
Gang oft awry,'—

and I found myself on the floor of the *House of Lords*. I had more faith in *mysterious influences*, for it must be that seeing *Wellington* had inspired me; for never man attempted more rash things than that same duke, and he succeeded by *perseverance*. He conquered Napoleon—why should not a Yankee conquer that greater tyrant, *etiquette*?

"The rules require that you be 'in *full dress*.' Well, I was fully dressed. I had on a Quaker frock-coat, buttoned up to the chin, gray pants, black satin vest, black stock, with a *green cotton umbrella* under my arm!

"I marched in; the gallery was filled, but the House was thinly attended. Immediately Lord Brougham commenced making a speech of about twenty minutes, as I supposed for my especial benefit, as it related to nothing then before the House, but something he had done sometime before. Not more than twenty members were present, with but two bishops. *Wellington* was walking around, with his hands behind him, but in a few minutes he left. It is, I suppose, some time before they get fairly under way, and the session runs far into the night.

"One of the gentleman-ushers came and made himself sociable, pointing out to me the notable characters present. After standing until I was weary I sat down on the steps of the throne, a little elevated platform with crimson hangings, such as I think you often see, or may see, in Odd Fellows' halls.

"I was not struck with the appearance of 'the lords.' I have seen a gathering of country farmers, to discuss some agricultural project, whose appearance was quite as respectable and intelligent. Lounging on the benches, chatting about the recent races, or the coming shooting season, they seemed to take but little interest in what was going on.

"Brougham is the master-spirit, and the working man; busy, bustling, cross—he keeps something moving. Look at him, as he stands there by the wool-sack, addressing 'my lord,' the speaker. He is about five feet ten inches in height, spare, straight, and nervous. His head is not large, and covered with gray hair, which needs a brush. His forehead is low and narrow, his organs of perception large, and his firmness rises up like a small tower. His eyes, gray and twinkling, retiring far back into his head. His nose, small, thin, and turns up at the end, as though designed for rooting up evils. When he walks, his heels come down upon the floor earnestly, saying thereby, 'I am here.' He speaks quick, and his voice drives into your ear like a jet of water. You can see his wonderful powers of sarcasm all over his face; he looks as though he would bite. The members are afraid of him. He is a great man. I wished to hear him on some great question, but could not."

(7.) "*The Gospel Harmony Chronologically arranged in Separate Lessons, for Sunday Schools and Bible Classes*, by WALTER KING, A. M." (New-York: M. W. Dodd, 18mo., pp. 235,) is, as it appears to us, a work judiciously prepared on an excellent principle. A digest of a Gospel harmony is given in lessons, with careful questions on each, carrying a class regularly on through the life of the Saviour and the record of his teachings. It is well adapted for use in families as well as in Sunday schools and Bible classes.

(8.) "*Hungary and Kossuth: or an American Exposition of the late Hungarian Revolution*, by REV. B. F. TEFFT, D. D." (Philadelphia and New-Orleans: John Ball, 1852; 12mo., pp. 378.) This book, timely as it is, is not the result of hasty preparation to meet Kossuth's arrival, but is the fruit of years of interest in the subject, and of earnest and faithful study. As a repository of facts in the history and geography of Hungary, it has no rival among American publications. The first two chapters treat of the character of the country and the origin of the people; the third, of the religions of Hungary; the fourth, of the language and literature of the Magyars; the fifth, of the Hungarian Constitution. After this exposition of the internal state of the country, Dr. Tefft proceeds to set forth its external relations, and gives, in three closely written chapters, a clear history of the development of the Hungarian nationality, and of the various attempts to overthrow it before the recent revolution. The ninth chapter, under the title of the "Austrian Revolution," traces the recent movement from the seed sown by Luther up to the general movement of 1848. The remaining chapters give the history of the late Revolution and of its great hero, Kossuth, with great clearness, directness, and impartiality. The absurd statements of some American (!) writers, taken from Austrian and English sources, that this Magyar movement throughout has been an aristocratic one, and that its success would have been in fact the enslavement of the whole non-Magyar population of Hun-

gary, find ample refutation in these lucid and accurate pages. One can hardly avoid believing that the Austrian government, poor as it is, has found gold enough to set the pens of hireling writers at work in England, as well as on the continent of Europe, if not in America, to turn back, if possible, the tide of popular sympathy, which now, through all the free nations of the earth, runs so strongly in favour of Hungary and Kossuth. It is all in vain. The day hastens on—may God speed it!—when both England and America will rise to “the height of the great argument” embodied in the concluding words of Dr. Tefft’s able and excellent work:—“Hungary has a future; and when her hour shall come, as surely it will come, the civilized world will have a duty to perform. By that time the free nations of the earth will have learned the rights and the wrongs of this race of self-sacrificing democrats. The American Republic will have learned them; and whatever it may be wise and prudent for the government to do, or not to do, when the next crisis comes, the people will not fail to show themselves the enemies of oppression and the friends of universal freedom.”

(9.) “*Excerpta ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Carminibus*” (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1851; 18mo., pp. 245) is another of Schmitz and Zumpt’s classical series, edited in the same judicious spirit, and got up in the same neat and cheap style as the books of the same series heretofore noticed.

(10.) COLERIDGE tells us that he found no book so unfailing a source of enjoyment as Southey’s *Life of Wesley*; and the interest of the story is, in fact, inexhaustible. It must and will be written, and rewritten, over and over again, to meet the wants of successive generations and of different classes of mankind. “*Wesley and his Coadjutors*, by Rev. W. C. LARRABEE, A. M.,” (Cincinnati: Swornstedt & Power, 2 vols., 12mo.,) is a series of graphic sketches of the prominent events in Wesley’s wonderful career, with notices of the more remarkable of his co-labourers. Like everything else which Dr. Larrabee writes, it is clear, easy, and natural in style, while the writer’s love for his theme warms his writing at times into a genial glow of eloquence. We bespeak for the work a wide circulation.

(11.) WORKS on Ecclesiastes have multiplied greatly of late, but they have been mostly critical and exegetical. We have now before us a practical one in “*The Royal Preacher: Lectures on Ecclesiastes*, by JAMES HAMILTON, D. D.” (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 353.) The style is animated and generally chaste, and the spirit of the work is excellent.

(12.) A FULL account of the doctrines and polity of Methodism in a compendious form has long been a desideratum. The want is now to a great extent supplied by “*A Compendium of Methodism*, by Rev. JAMES PORTER, A. M.” (Boston: C. H. Peirce & Co., 1851; 12mo., pp. 501.) The work is divided into four parts, of which Part I. gives a *historical sketch* of Methodism from its rise to the present time, both in England and America. A large amount of information is here condensed into a comparatively small compass.

Part II. sets forth the *doctrinal* views of Methodists as distinguished from those of other denominations. Part III. treats of the *government* of the Church, with a preliminary exhibition of various systems of Church government, which is very well drawn up. Then follow a statement and defence of the peculiarities of our own system—especially of our Episcopacy. In Part IV. the *prudential* arrangements peculiar to the different sects of Wesleyans are set forth. Two of our most marked peculiarities—Itinerancy and Class-meetings—are exhibited and defended with skill and force. The work, throughout, is *not* a criticism on Methodist usages, but a statement and defence of them. As such we trust it will meet with the wide circulation it deserves, both in and out of the Church. We are sorry to see so good a book disfigured by so many typographical errors.

(13.) "*The Christian's Daily Treasury*, by EBENEZER TEMPLE," (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851; 12mo., pp. 431,) contains a religious exercise, in the form of a brief exposition of Scripture, for every day in the year. The utility of such manuals, for family worship as well as in private devotion, is unquestionable; and this one has the merits of brevity, simplicity, and directness. The work manifests neither remarkable power of interpretation, nor profoundness of thought; but it abounds in proofs of Christian feeling and of reverence for the oracles of God.

(14.) "*A Concise History of England, from the first Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of Queen Victoria*, by W. CLARK, Esq., edited, with additions, by J. C. MOFFATT, M. A., Professor of Latin Literature in Miami University." (Cincinnati: Moore & Anderson, 1851; 12mo., pp. 344.) This book answers a good purpose in presenting a continuous outline of English history in chronological order and in compact form. It was originally issued in England; and the American editor has made a number of useful and judicious additions. The book is well adapted for use in schools. It is strange, however, that neither the author nor the editor should have given us—what are indispensable appendages to such a work—a chronological table and an index.

(15.) "*Duties of Masters to Servants*" (Charleston, 1851; 18mo., pp. 151) contains three premium essays, by Rev. H. N. McTyeire, Rev. C. F. Sturgis, and Rev. A. T. Holmes, published under the auspices of the Southern Baptist Publication Society. The first essay is the best of the three. If slaves were to be treated universally as these writers recommend, slavery would soon come to an end.

(16.) ONLY within the last quarter have we received a copy of "*Lectures on the Scientific Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, by W. C. LARABEE, A. M.," (Cincinnati: Swornstedt & Power, pp. 395,) though the work was issued more than a year ago. It is an excellent summary of the argument from design, extended through a great variety of illustrations from the natural world. The style is easy and agreeable, and the book is one calculated to be very useful.

(17.) MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS have commenced a reprint of Jacob Abbott's series of books in practical religion, of which we have before us the first volume, viz., "*The Young Christian, very greatly improved and enlarged.*" (12mo., pp. 402.) The wide circulation of this book, not merely at home, but in almost every civilized country in the world, is one of the best proofs of its excellence; books of this class do not gain such circulation without, at least, the merit of adaptation to their end. The present edition is carefully revised, as the title-page states, and is, besides, illustrated by numerous engravings. Of all Mr. Abbott's writings these volumes will doubtless be those on which he will look back with most pleasure in old age, or from heaven: and their reissue, in their improved form, is for him, no doubt, a labour of love, as it is for others, most assuredly, a work of blessing.

(18.) "*The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, practically explained*, by AUGUSTUS NEANDER, translated by Mrs. H. C. CONANT." (New-York: L. Colby & Co., 12mo., pp. 140.) A beautiful exhibition of Neander's great power of exegesis—not in the way of critical discussion, but of the profoundest sympathy with the spirit of the text and the fullest comprehension of its scope. This practical exposition rests upon a thoroughly scientific ground, but is free from any scholastic forms, and is adapted to the general reading of Christians. A few passages are not interpreted as we understand them—but that does not hinder us from commending the work to our readers as a precious one. The style of the translation is admirable.

(19.) "WE make too little of our HOMES; and one reason of this is that the Pulpit holds itself so much aloof from the common routine of domestic life." These truths led to the preparation of a course of lectures now embodied in "*The Bible in the Family, or Hints on Domestic Happiness*, by H. A. BOARDMAN, Pastor of the Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia." (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851; 12mo., pp. 341.) The lectures set forth, in a plain, sensible, and practical style, the scope of the family tie in all its ramifications, and the duties that spring from it, as taught in the Bible. It is worthy of general circulation.

(20.) COLLECTIONS of select poems have long been a favourite style of fancy books, and one that does not seem to go out of fashion. Among the most recent of these we have "*Blossoms of Childhood*," just issued from the press of Carter & Brothers of this city, consisting of nearly two hundred short pieces relating to childhood and children. These poems are generally by modern authors of established reputation—many of them Americans. In style and literary character they are respectable, though not in all cases above criticism, or perfect models of their kind. The moral character of the pieces appears to be unexceptionable, and the book may be safely commended to public favour.

(21.) "*Christianity Tested by Eminent Men*" is a series of brief sketches of Christian Biography, originally made by the late Professor CALDWELL, of

Dickinson College, and edited, with an introduction, by Rev. S. M. VAIL, Professor at Concord. (New-York: Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 216.) It was a distinguishing trait of Professor Caldwell's eminently Christian character, that he was ready to work in *any* department of labour for the moral welfare of mankind, and especially of the young: and the volume before us is a specimen of how much good may be done, by a wise and thoughtful mind that will employ itself for a good purpose, even in an humble species of authorship. The work gives sketches of a number of the world's greatest men—such as Franklin, Davy, and others, in the sphere of science; Hale, Richelieu, Washington, and other statesmen and jurists—all testifying to the truth and power of Christianity. So far as the evidence from human authority can go, this volume is a valuable book of "Christian Evidences," and we trust it will be widely circulated.

(22.) "*The Merchant's Daughter, and other Narratives*, by Rev. J. T. BARR," (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1851; 18mo., pp. 228,) is a series of sketches for the young, illustrating the fatal consequences of sin and the happy effects of true piety even in this life. Extraordinary as some of the incidents related in this volume are, every one of them is a well authenticated fact. Truth is, indeed, stranger than fiction. The book proves a valuable addition to that array of good books for the young furnished by the Methodist Book Concern.

(23.) AMONG the most valuable issues in Bohn's Standard Library is "*Neander's History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Churches by the Apostles*, with his *Antignostikus*," (2 vols., 12mo.,) edited by Dr. J. E. RYLAND. In this new edition of the Planting and Training all Neander's corrections and additions to his third and fourth editions are given—not, however, wrought into the text, as we could have wished, but given as a pendant to the work. The *Antignostikus* appears for the first time in an English dress. Another of the recent issues is the first volume of "*Christian Iconography*, by M. DIDRON, translated by E. J. MILLINGTON," being an illustrated history of the image-system of the Roman Catholic Church in the middle age. These, with all the other valuable works of Bohn's series, are kept on sale by Messrs. Bangs, Brother & Co., New-York.

(24.) "*The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, from Marathon to Waterloo*, by E. S. CREASY, M. A." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 364.)—The *taking* title of this book, as well as its subject, was suggested to the author by a remark of Hallam's upon the battle of Tours—"It may justly be reckoned among those few battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes." To determine what battles should fall into this decisive class is no easy task; indeed, hardly any two inquirers would be likely to coincide in a decision. Certainly we cannot agree that all or even the greater part of the battles cited by Mr. Creasy were of such moment to the world's history as he supposes. The battle of Marathon might have been decided in favour of the Persians without affecting the tenor of human events very greatly. The fate of Carthage was

sealed before the battle of the Metaurus. Blenheim signalized the shame of Louis rather than any vital change in the history of mankind. Had Burgoyne conquered at Saratoga, he would have united with Clinton in vain. Indeed, we cannot see that Mr. Creasy has been guided by any philosophical principle in his selection of decisive conflicts. But he has certainly chosen fifteen important battles, and described them with a good deal of graphic power. His style, however, is ambitious and inelegant—a bad imitation of a bad model, Alison.

(25.) WE have received the second volume of "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses connected with the royal succession of Great Britain*," by AGNES STRICKLAND." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 402.) In this volume the sketch of Mary of Lorraine (second queen of James V.) is completed, and a pretty full biography is given of the Lady Margaret Douglass, Countess of Lenox.

(26.) "*Sketches of the Life and Labours of James Quinn*," by JOHN F. WRIGHT, of the Ohio Conference." (Cincinnati: 1851; 12mo., pp. 324.) Mr. Quinn was for nearly half a century a minister of the gospel in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and this book is a record of his labours, and at the same time a sketch of the growth of the West not only in Methodism but in population and power. The world has yet to learn what the early pioneers of Methodism on the American frontier have done, suffered, and achieved, in behalf of religion and civilization. To this band of heroes Mr. Quinn belonged, and it was fitting that this memorial of him should be preserved. The work is sold for the benefit of his aged widow; and on this account, as well as in view of its intrinsic merit, we commend it to our readers.

(27.) BISHOP McILVAINE'S "*Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ohio, in St. Paul's Church, Cleveland, October 11, 1851*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, pp. 50,) is, in the main, a sensible protest against Romanizing views, in an exposition of the necessity, the nature, and the means of regeneration. While the good bishop's productions, in general, are not remarkable for scope or vigour of thought, and always show traces of a narrow theological training, they are yet so thoroughly imbued with Christian earnestness as to form valuable contributions to practical theology. The appendix contains a parallel between the *revival* measures adopted in some of the Protestant Churches, and the recent operations of the Redemptorists in the Roman Catholic Churches, which is a curious mixture of sense and prejudice, of discrimination and simplicity.

(28.) ALMOST simultaneously with Keys's "*Class-Leader's Manual*," of which we gave a notice some time since, there appeared in Cincinnati a "*Treatise on Class-Meetings*," by Rev. JOHN MILEY, A. M., (18mo., pp. 224,) with an introduction by Bishop Morris, written in his usual style of clear and manly simplicity. The book treats, in order, of the social principle of class-meetings,

their design, and their obligation. The objections to such meetings are then considered, and their benefits set forth. The work concludes with a chapter upon the mode of conducting class-meetings, and upon the duties of leaders and members. All these topics are well and carefully worked out, and the book throughout is eminently adapted for usefulness.

(29.) "*Moby-Dick; or the Whale*," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 634.) is the latest effusion of HERMAN MELVILLE's versatile genius. It is a wonderful mixture of fact and fancy—of information about the whale and its habits, and of the wildest whimsies of a seething brain. The book displays the same power of dashing description, of vivid picture-painting, which characterizes all the other works of this writer. We are bound to say, however, that the book contains a number of flings at religion, and even of vulgar immoralities that render it unfit for general circulation. We regret that Mr. Melville should allow himself to sink so low.

(30.) THE question of the recognition of friends in the future life is one involving our human affections so deeply that hardly any discussion of it can fail to be interesting. Quite a copious treatise on the subject is given in "*The Heavenly Recognition; or, an Earnest and Scriptural Discussion of the Question, Will (shall) we know our friends in Heaven*," by Rev. HENRY HARBAUGH, A. M." (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston; 12mo., pp. 288.) The writer first looks among the pagans for glimpses of the belief, not merely in a future state, but in the joys of friendship and love there. The question is then examined in the light of reason and history; and the final appeal is made to the teachings of Christ and the apostles. The views thus obtained are confirmed by the teachings (incidental rather than direct) of the Fathers of the Church, and of many eminent theologians of ancient and modern times. Finally, the common objections to the doctrine are cited and refuted at length. Mr. Harbaugh writes with a warm Christian feeling; and although his treatise is unnecessarily diffuse, it is, perhaps, the best extant upon the subject.

(31.) THE third volume of "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*," by Rev. WILLIAM HANNA," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; pp. 530.) brings the biography up to the year 1835. According to the original announcement the work was to have been completed in three volumes; but Dr. Hanna, it seems, miscalculated the amount of his material, and finds that he must issue a fourth as the final volume. A little more compression would not only have fulfilled the first intention of the writer, but have made the book a better and more useful one. There are many pages of matter in this volume quite as worthless as the following about a sloop that contained Dr. C.'s furniture:—

"December 4th.—This morning I was put into a sad alarm before breakfast by the information that a sloop had been stranded overnight, and was now among the rocks.

"December 5th.—I have been tantalized with two appearances to-day in the offing, neither of which turned out as I had hoped for; and as yet there is no

thing within verge of the horizon that can be interpreted into our vessel. The weather, however, has become moderate, and the surf on the beach has abated greatly. The water looks quite calm in the bay; and should this fair and yet gentle breeze continue, it may cast up in the course of to-morrow. am in great peace and comfort. I am floundering on through my course of moral philosophy, and I think that I can see how, helter-skelter, I shall arrive at the termination of it.

"December 8th.—There was a vessel this day reported to have turned Fifeness, and which beat against the wind, as we all thought, for St. Andrews. It went by the name of Dr. Chalmer's sloop, and when on its last tack, as we thought, to the pier, a pilot-boat went out, on which she turned immediately for the West Sands, where she lies at anchor. The inference is, that she is a vessel which has just come in for shelter. The weather is more moderate to-night, and we shall be looking out to-morrow.

"December 9th, Tuesday.—Five o'clock.—No appearance yet of our vessel. I came up from the shore before dinner with the impression that it was really unaccountable now; but Mr. Duncan tells me that he held conversation with a fisherman about it, who said that, from the direction of the wind, there was still a difficulty in turning the point.

"December 10th.—I make no delay in informing you that the sloop arrived this morning, and is lying aground off the harbour. There will be no unpacking till to-morrow."

Think, too, of the folly of printing such "diary-work" as the following:—

"Thursday.—Got up between eight and nine. Family worship and breakfast. Have rather fallen behind in my pulpit preparations, but I hope to do something to-day. After breakfast I wrote a little. The chaise came to the door and took me and two of the Misses Oliphant to Freeland, where we called on Lady Ruthven. Lord R. was at Perth. Her ladyship is remarkably clever, and was remarkably kind. She has been much in Greece, and showed me many admirable drawings. Her mother, Mrs. Campbell of Shawfield, was there, who appears a remarkably wholesome and well-disposed person; but the most interesting of the whole was Miss Ruthven, a sister of his lordship, and a most saintly and admirable person. She lives in Perth, but was at Freeland for a day or two. Freeland is quite a paradise of beauty.

"Friday.—Got up at eight. Expounded at family worship for the first time. After breakfast two horses arrived at the door for an equestrian excursion between me and Mr. James. Previous to that, however, I composed somewhat, and had an interesting conversation with Mr. Oliphant, the invalid, more satisfactory than before. Were soon overtaken with rain, and so stopped in our excursion, but had a very good refuge in the manse of Mr. Young the clergyman, with whom we sat an hour. As the rain continued, we walked home with umbrellas, and sent a servant from the house for the horses."

The chapter on the Collegiate session of 1824–25 at St. Andrews is very good, affording additional illustration, if such were necessary, of Dr. Chalmers's immense capacity for work. The journal of 1825–26 is much more spiritual, and contains less twaddle than that of the preceding year. The volume increases in interest as it proceeds—but the general impression it makes is that of regret that Dr. Chalmers's papers have fallen into the hands of so incompetent a biographer.

(32.) JUDGE HALYBURTON has appeared in two new characters—of statesman and plagiarist—in "*Rule and Misrule of the English in America*." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 379.) The statesmanship is of a very humble sort—the plagiarism may stand in the front rank, according to Mr. Hildreth's showing.

(33.) "*Death-Bed Scenes; or, dying with and without Religion, designed to illustrate the truth and power of Christianity*, edited by DAVIS W. CLARK, D. D." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 12mo., pp. 569.) This book belongs to an unpretending but useful class of compilations. It is divided into two parts: I. *The Dying Christian*, containing a number of examples of the power of Christian faith in sustaining the soul of man in the dying hour: II. *Dying without Religion*, giving accounts of the death-beds of a number of persons of remarkable character but destitute of faith. The subordinate classification under each of these heads is clear and useful, and in this respect the work is better than any compilation of the kind that we have seen. The book combines attractive and useful qualities to a remarkable degree, and we trust it will have a large circulation.

(34.) No science has sprung more rapidly into notice and extent than Ethnology. Everywhere active minds are engaged upon it, and books about it, of more or less value, are issued constantly. Among the latest is "*The Natural History of the Human Species*, by Lieut. Col. C. H. SMITH," (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851; 12mo., pp. 423,) which we cannot recommend to any one who wishes to understand what he reads. A more clumsy and obscure book, in all respects, we have seldom seen. The introduction to the volume (by Dr. Kneeland, of Boston) is the only part of it worth reading; and its value consists in a tolerably distinct statement of the arguments, *pro* and *con.*, on the question of the unity of the human race. We are more and more disposed to wonder *why* it is that naturalists, in these days, cannot write intelligibly.

(35.) WE have before announced Mr. Putnam's contemplated series of encyclopædic volumes, each complete in itself, and designed to form compact manuals of the *most* useful knowledge. Two of the series are now before us, of which the first is the "*Hand-Book of Literature and the Fine Arts*, compiled and arranged by GEORGE RIPLEY and BAYARD TAYLOR." (12mo., pp. 647.) The work comprises "complete and accurate definitions of all terms employed in Belles-Lettres, Philosophy, Theology, Law, Mythology, Painting, Music, Sculpture, Architecture, and all kindred arts." Nor is this ample promise of the title-page belied in the book itself. So far as our brief examination enables us to judge, the work is as complete a vocabulary of art and science, brought up to the latest periods of knowledge, as could be furnished in so portable a shape, and should find a place on the table of every student and in every library. The other is a "*Hand-Book of Universal Biography*, by PARKE GODWIN." (12mo., pp. 821.) The book is prepared on the basis of Maunder's Biographical Treasury, but most of the articles have been rewritten, and a vast number of names have been added, especially in American biography, which is almost wholly neglected in Maunder, as indeed in all works of foreign origin. Such a book has long been needed, not only for the use of literary men, but of the general reading public, and the appearance of this is therefore most timely. If the other volumes of Mr. Putnam's series approach in excellence to those already issued, its success cannot be doubted.

(36.) THE American press has seldom produced a more beautiful book, in all exterior qualities, than "*The Nile-Boat, or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt*, by W. H. BARTLETT." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1851; 8vo., pp. 218.) The engravings are so abundant as to make the book a complete picture gallery of Egyptian scenes, and the text is a well-wrought and graphic commentary upon them. All the illustrations were drawn upon the spot by Mr. Bartlett, and afford a series of illustrated sketches of the monuments of Egypt as they are, and of the manners and customs of its present people, as well as of the characteristic scenery of their ancient ruins. No man exceeds Mr. Bartlett in the power of combining pen and pencil to produce distinct impressions of natural objects, and this work is quite as successful as his former ones. A more beautiful book for a present could not be found.

(37.) "*My Youthful Days; an authentic Narrative*, by Rev. GEORGE COLES." (New-York: Lane & Scott, 18mo., pp. 267.) The excellent author of this work is well known throughout the Church as a former Editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, and as a writer of books specially adapted to the youthful mind. "That an account of the youthful days of such a man, written by his own hand, will be interesting and instructive to thousands, cannot be doubted." Mr. Coles was born in England, and his account of his early home, of the village sports of Old England, of the Church service, and of Methodism in England, is full of interest. The concluding chapters give a graphic account of his voyage of emigration and of his first impressions in America. We commend the book not only to the young, but to *all* readers, as an entertaining and instructive narrative.

(38.) "*The Life of a Vagrant*," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1851; pp. 164,) is the simple story of a poor boy, brought up in an English workhouse, who led the life of a common tramp for years, and was finally brought to experience the truth and power of the gospel to reform and elevate even the lowest of mankind.

(39.) "*The Rainbow in the North*, by S. TUCKER," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 308,) is a brief account of the first establishment of Christianity in Rupert's Land by the Church Missionary Society. It is a very interesting narration of missionary labours, privations, and success. The book has several very fine illustrations.

(40.) OUR missionaries in Germany continue their activity in printing as well as in preaching. We have just received a copy of our German Hymn Book, "*Sammlung von Geistlichen Liedern für Kirchlichen und Hauslichen Gottesdienst*." (Bremen: J. G. Heyse, 1851; pp. 544.) It is neatly printed and bound, and sold at a very low price.

(41.) No purely American work of art, so far as we can remember, has equalled in magnificence "*The Home-Book of the Picturesque*." (New-York: G. P. Put-

nam, 1852; 4to., pp. 188.) The book contains thirteen engravings on steel, from pictures by American artists, illustrating some of the finest and most picturesque spots in our wide land—so fertile in scenes of beauty. The engravings are all well done, and although, as remarked in the preface, they are perhaps of too moderate size to do justice to the original pictures, they are yet highly creditable specimens of that branch of art. The letter-press consists chiefly of descriptions of the scenes illustrated in the engravings, by such writers as Cooper, Irving, Bayard Taylor, Bryant, and Bethune. It is a good omen to see such noble works taking the place, as gift-books, of the empty "annuals" of former years.

(42.) MESSRS. R. CARTER & BROTHERS have just issued a new and neat edition of the well-known book "*Decision, or Religion must be all or is nothing*," by GRACE KENNEDY." (18mo., pp. 98.) Its dramatic form gives it great attraction for young readers.

(43.) "*Memorials of the Life and Trials of a Youthful Christian*" (New-York: C. Scribner, 1851; 12mo., pp. 355) is a touching tribute of fraternal affection, as well as a remarkable record of Christian resignation under long-continued disease. The subject of the memoir, Dr. Nathaniel Cheever, was an invalid almost from his birth, and his whole life was a continued struggle with persistent and painful infirmities. Under these trials his mind grew and his heart was disciplined: devout love to God, and a tender, submissive spirit, breathe through all the journals and letters of the youthful and suffering saint. The memoir is prefaced by Rev. H. T. Cheever, with an introduction by Dr. G. B. Cheever,—both brothers of the subject of the narrative.

(44.) "*The Sheaf*" (Boston: H. V. Degen, 18mo., pp. 155) is a highly-wrought account (written much in the mystical vein) of the religious experience of Mrs. Cordelia Thomas. Mrs. Thomas believed herself at one time to be the subject of "special spiritual manifestations," and, in reading an Adventist tract, "containing their arguments to prove that the Sabbath of the world was at hand," she "felt, from an inward experience of the Spirit, that it was even so." She soon commenced (if we correctly understand her somewhat vague and cloudy statements) proclaiming the second advent. That she was mistaken soon appeared—but she does not seem to have drawn from her experience its proper lesson. We cannot recommend the book, nor any book of its class, as tending to wholesome Christian culture.

(45.) THE fourth volume of "*Daily Bible Illustrations*," by JOHN KITTO, LL.D., (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1851; 12mo., pp. 438,) completes the series of illustrations founded upon the historical books of the Old Testament. We have before spoken of this excellent series of daily readings, in its special adaptation to use in the family—and we now renew our commendation of the work to all our readers.

(46.) "*Olive-Leaves*, by Mrs. SIGOURNEY," (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 18mo., pp. 301,) is a series of beautiful narratives, with a few poetical pieces, intended for the young. The name of Mrs. Sigourney is at once a pledge of their excellence, and a sure passport to public favour. The volume is beautifully illustrated.

(47.) OUR Sunday-School Press, under Dr. Kidder's energetic hand, has been prolific of good issues of late. Among the books laid on our table we find "*English Country Pictures*, by OLD HUMPHREY," (18mo., pp. 182,)—a series of sketches of home and country scenes in merry England by a well-known writer. "*Village Science*" (18mo., pp. 285) contains simple and familiar explanations of a number of physical laws, by the author of "*Peeps of Nature*." "*Memoir of Eliza M. Barker*, by A. C. ROSE," (18mo., pp. 108,) is designed to encourage parents to teach religion to their children when very young. But we think it no merit in the parents of the good child whose memoir is given in the book, that "at the early age of five years and ten months she had read her New Testament through," and this, too, while she was in very feeble health, and should, in fact, not have even learned to read at that age. "*Memory's Pictures*" (18mo., pp. 69) contains a number of pretty incidents. "*Good Health; the possibility, duty, and means of obtaining and keeping it*," (18mo., pp. 214) is an excellent little treatise on diet, regimen, &c., giving principles rather than precise rules of living. "*Female Dead*" (18mo., pp. 355) consists of short sketches of departed Christian females, and of their last hours upon earth. "*Sunday among the Puritans*" (18mo. pp. 95) is a record of how the Puritans spent their first twenty Sundays in New-England, with the just inference that the noble elements of Puritan character were not a little due to their Sabbath-keeping. "*Christian Love, contrasted with the Love of the World*," is a narrative in a series of letters, designed to illustrate the contrast stated in the title-page. "*Senior Classes in Sunday Schools*" contains Cooper's Prize Essay, and several other treatises, on the importance of such classes, and the best method of conducting them. "*Iona*" is a history of the famous Druids' Isle, and of the changes to which it has been subject in the course of years. The "*Sunday-School Anniversary Book*," gives much good advice with regard to Sunday-school celebrations, with copious exercises for such occasions.

Among smaller books we find the following neat issues in Library B., viz.: *Cecil, or the Boy that did not like Work*, the title of which indicates sufficiently the nature of its contents; *Up and be Doing*, and *Everything has its Price*—two nice little pictorial stories; *The Sun-beam*, translated from the French; *Simeon Green*, a man that cured his bad neighbours, by Rev. J. A. James; *Passing Clouds*, and other stories, by Old Humphrey; *Jennie Duncan, or the Young Dressmaker*; *Ingratitude*, being the story of Asa Trott, in verse; *Ishmael, the Abyssinian Boy*.

ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

THE death of CHARLES GUTZLAFF should not pass without some notice in these pages, of a man whose name has been so long before the religious and literary world. As scholar, traveller, and missionary, he laboured long and faithfully, and though his career was marked by not a few indiscretions, we think that, now that he is dead, all men will unite in honouring him for what he intended, and, in some respects, for what he accomplished. Born at Stettin, in Pomerania, in 1802, he attracted attention at an early age by his zeal in study, and by the promise of activity which his youth afforded. The way was open for him to posts of usefulness at home, but "having resolved to devote himself to missionary labour in foreign parts, he volunteered to go to the Dutch settlements in the East, under the auspices of the Netherlands Missionary Society." Before proceeding thither he came to England, where he met Dr. Morrison, the eminent Chinese scholar and missionary, and received a strong bias toward China as his ultimate field of labour. In 1823 he proceeded to Singapore, and it is said that before he had been there two years, he was able to converse fluently in five Eastern languages, and to read and write as many more. In August, 1828, in company with Mr. Toulmin, Gutzlaff went to Siam, where he remained more than a year. In 1831 he went to China. Between 1831 and 1834 he made three voyages along the coast, and published a journal of his observations in 1834. He subsequently published a "History of China," and also "China Opened: an Account of the Topography, History, Laws, &c., of the Chinese Empire," (2 vols.) From 1834 to the time of his death he held office under the British government, as interpreter and secretary to the Minister. He died on the 9th of August, 1851. Of his way of life, the *Literary Gazette* gives the following account:—

"The whole of the early morning was devoted to the religious instruction of successive classes of Chinese who came to his house. From ten till four he was occupied with government duties. After

a very brief interval, he went out for the rest of the evening, preaching in public places, or teaching from house to house. He also, from time to time, made excursions to different places, accompanied by native teachers. All this toil was voluntary and unremunerated, for, except when he first went out to the East, he was not connected with any missionary society. A few friends in New-York and London sent occasionally, we believe, some contributions for purchasing books and medicines, but the work was mainly carried on at his own cost. He was a man of generous, self-denying spirit, in zeal for every good work untiring, and in labour indefatigable. He early inured himself to hardships, and in his devotedness to his work of spreading Christian truth, he was regardless of privations and dangers. His medical skill and great learning often opened a way for him where few Europeans could have gained access, and wherever he was known he was beloved by the natives. They used to say sometimes that he must be a descendant of some Chinese family, who had emigrated to the Isles of the Western Ocean."

Of the results of Gutzlaff's labours we are not yet sufficiently informed to speak with any certainty; but his efforts for the cause of religion, and of Christian civilization in China, deserve to be held in the grateful remembrance of the Church.

THE first volume of the Rev. Henry Alford's edition of the Greek Testament was severely reviewed last year in the *Christian Remembrancer*. The author has answered his critic in a very able and temperate pamphlet, entitled "*Audi Alteram Partem*." The second volume of Mr. Alford's work is now announced as ready for publication.

THE fourth and concluding volume of the Rev. Dr. Peile's Annotations on the New Testament is announced as in the press in London.

WE see announced in London (Bagster & Sons) two elementary works which, if well executed, are likely to be useful, viz., "*Syriac Reading Lessons, with the elements of Syriac Grammar*," and "*Chaldee Read-*

ing *Lessons*, consisting of the whole of the Biblical Chaldee, with a grammatical Praxis and an interlineary translation."

A NEW edition of Stier's *Reden des Herrn Jesu* (6 vols., 8vo.) is soon to be issued.

MR. NEWMAN (the pervert) labours at his unhappy work with indefatigable activity. He has lately issued a volume of "*Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*," the scope of which may be estimated from the following summary of contents:—"Lecture I. Protestant View of the Catholic Church. II. Tradition the Sustaining Power of the Protestant View. III. Fable the Basis of the Protestant View. IV. True Testimony unequal to the Protestant View. V. Logical Inconsistency of the Protestant View. VI. Prejudice the Life of the Protestant View. VII. Assumed Principles the Intellectual Instrument of the Protestant View. VIII. Want of Intercourse with Catholics the Protection of the Protestant View. IX. Duties of Catholics towards the Protestant View."

We see flattering mention made in English journals of "*The Bible Student's Guide* to the more correct understanding of the English Translation of the Old Testament, by reference to the original Hebrew. By the Rev. W. Wilson, D. D., Canon of Winchester," (demy 4to.: price, £2 2s.) "The object of this work is to furnish the accurate student of the Bible with an *immediate reference to the original of every word in our version of the Old Testament*; at the same time, an opportunity is afforded of comparing the original with all other words similarly rendered, and of so attaining a more distinct apprehension of words which appear to be synonymous. If the reader were guided in his understanding of a phrase simply by the idea conveyed by the one English word, he must necessarily fall short of an accurate knowledge of the inspired meaning, and probably may put an import on the word which is not warranted by the original language. The knowledge of the Hebrew language is not necessary to the profitable use of this work; and it is believed that many devout and accurate students of the Bible, entirely unacquainted with it, will derive great advantage from frequent reference to these pages."

In the *Theologisches Literaturblatt zur Allgemeinen Kirchenzeitung* (No. 103, August, 1851) we find a highly laudatory review of a brief life of Wesley, published at Halle

under the title "*Des Johann Wesley Leben und Wirken*, von K. C. S. Schmidt, Prof. in Naumburg." The reviewer remarks that "no phenomenon, since the Reformation, can compare in religious and ecclesiastical importance with Methodism." Of Wesley himself the reviewer says, in view of his immense activity in preaching, in writing, and in the superintendence of a great religious body, that "perhaps the world has never seen a more useful man."

THE name of Abelard, full of interest to all mankind from his guilt and his sorrows, as well as to the theologian and the philosopher, from his learning and his genius, has been brought before us anew of late years by M. Cousin's edition of his before unedited works. Among them was republished his collection of "Sentences," but the editing of the work was not satisfactorily done. A new and careful revision of the text has been made by two German theologians, and is now before us under the original title, "*Petri Abaelardi Sic et Non*—Primum integrum ediderunt E. L. D. Henke et G. S. Lindenköhl." (Marburg, 1851. 8vo. 440 pp.)

Die *Evangelische Lehre auf dem Grunde der Heiligen Schrift*, von W. Kritz, Pastor in Leipzig," (1851, 337 pp., 8vo.) is an exhibition of Christian doctrines in their connexion, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, for the use of the laity. We need books of this class sadly in our own language.

A NEW version of the Bible (undertaken for the use of the British Jews) is now in progress. Part I. having appeared, under the title, "*Jewish School and Family Bible. Part First, containing the Pentateuch*," by Dr. D. A. BENISCH," (London.) The editor states that "while, in the ceremonial law, the translation is a faithful exposition of Jewish opinions, in every other respect it is a strictly impartial performance, embodying the results of long-continued studies and numerous patient researches, the labour of many years."

We have received a copy of "*Neue Propheten—drei historisch-politische Kirchenbilder*, von Dr. Karl Hase." (Leipzig, 1851. 12mo., 367 pp.) The "three pictures" are The Maid of Orleans, Savonarola, and the Anabaptists. The text is marked by Hase's usual sarcastic keenness and beauty of style—and the notes are full of literary and historical information.

Too late for any examination we have received a copy of "*Theologie*, von Dr. L.

J. Rückert, Erster Theil," (Leipzig, 1851. 8vo. pp. 378.); also of "*Dr. Chas Harm's Lebensbeschreibung, verfasst von ihm selber.*" (Kiel, 1851. 250 pp.): of a treatise, "*Ueber den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, von Dr. J. Fränkel (Leipzig, 1851. 8vo. 254 pp.): of "*Die Wissenschaftlichkeit der modernen speculativen Theologie in ihren Principien beleuchtet*, von C. A. Thilo." (Leipzig, 1851. 344 pp.)

We have noticed in this number of our journal the American translation of Neander's "Practical Exposition of the Philip-pians;" and we have since received the German edition of his exposition of 1 John, ("*Praktische Erläuterung des ersten Briefes des Johannes.*" Berlin, 1851. 258 pp.) which is executed in the same spirit, and will, we hope, be translated by the same admirable hand.

THE complete edition of Zwingle's works published by Schulthess, in Zürich, (edited by Schulthess & Schuler, 1828-1842,) can now be had for seven thalers.

WE continue our summaries of the contents of the leading journals of Theology and Sacred Literature, and of those which represent special ecclesiastical interests.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* (October) contains the following articles:—I. A new explanation of the Taxing in Luke II, 1-5: II. The Jesuits: III. The Sabbath day: IV. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament: V. Wicliffe's Bible: VI. The septenary arrangement of Scripture: VII. The Rephaim, and their connexion with Egyptian history: VIII. Modern Judaism: IX. Scripture Parallelisms: X. Queried texts: XI. On the Evangelization of India: XII. Correspondence.

THE *British Quarterly Review*, November:—I. Prussia and Austria, Monarchy v. Nationality: II. Willmott's Pleasures of Literature: III. Julius Müller—the Doctrine of Sin: IV. Early English Houses and Households: V. The Duke of Argyll on the Twofold Protest: VI. History by Modern Frenchmen: VII. Bushnell's Discourses: VIII. Geological Observations—Survey of Britain: IX. Martineau on Apostolic Christianity: X. England and Italy: XI. Popery—its Nature and Development: XII. Louis Kossuth and Lord Palmerston.

THE *Christian Remembrancer*, (London,) October, contains the following articles:—I. Roman Law: II. Quakerism: III. Fari-

ni's Roman State: IV. The Sacramental System: V. The Synod of Exeter: VI. Notices.

THE *North British Review*, November, contains:—I. The Peace Congress: II. Principles of Taxation: III. The Fine Arts in Edinburgh: IV. The Old Testament—Newman and Greg: V. Burns and his School: VI. John Owen: VII. Comparative Philology—Humboldt: VIII. The Frontier Wars of India: IX. Translations from the Classics—Æschylus: X. The Christian Struggle in Germany.

THE contents of the *Theologische Studien u. Krüken* for October, 1851, are as follows:—I. Observations on the Different Conceptions of Religion, with special reference to psychological questions, by Dr. Lechler, of Winnenden: II. Lucian and Christianity—a contribution to the Church History of the second century, by Rev. A. Planck, of Heidenheim: III. Additional observations on the authorship of the phrase *In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utroque caritas*, by Dr. F. Lücke: IV. Review of Hahn's *Geschichte der Ketzerei im Mittelalter*: V. Review of Hübsch's *Architektur und ihr Verhältniss zur heutigen Malerei und Sculptur*: VI. Kling on the *Evangelische Kirchenordnung* for Westphalia and the Rhine province.

THE *Prospective Review* (November) contains the following articles:—I. Recent Translations of Classical Poets: II. Polemical Fiction: III. The American Fugitive Slave Act: IV. The Harmony of the Intuitional and Logical Elements in the ultimate grounds of Religious Belief.

Theological Critic, (edited by T. K. Arnold,) September:—I. Scipio de Ricci: II. The Ecclesiastical and Religious Condition of Geneva: III. The Beast from the Sea: IV. De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historie fontibus disseruit Carolus Gulielmus Schöll: V. Galatians iii, 4-6: VI. On the Authority of Plato and Aristotle in the Middle Ages: VII. Hebrew Metrol-ogy: VIII. John vi, 51, 58, 59, "Things New and Old."

Eclectic Review, September:—I. Prof. Maurice's Works: II. Companions of my Solitude: III. Shepherd's History of the Church of Rome: IV. Mrs. Browning's Casa Guidi Windows: V. Atkinson & Martineau on Man's Nature: VI. Scott's Lelio: a Vision of Reality: VII. The Spanish Protestants: VIII. Waring's Recollections of the Bard of Glamorgan: IX. Local Self-

government and Centralization. *October:*

—I. Lamartine's Restoration of Monarchy in France: II. The Creed of Christendom: III. Mayhew's Revelations of London: IV. Sherman's Memoirs of William Allen: V. Recent Poetry: VI. Neapolitan Atrocities—Mr. Gladstone's Letters: VII. Episcopal Revenues. *November:*—I. British Anti-State Church Association: II. Arab Travels in Central Africa: III. Porter's Textual Criticism: IV. The Ballad Poetry of Scotland: V. Adventures of a Gold Seeker: VI. South African Missions—Freeman and Dr. Gray: VII. Religious Scandal—Story of My Life: VIII. Religious Aspects of the Exhibition. *December:*—I. New Reformation in Ireland—The Rival Successions: II. Colonel Dixon's Sketches of Mairwara: III. Warburton's Memoirs of Horace Walpole: IV. Halley's Congregational Lectures—Sacramental Theories: V. Carlyle's Life of Sterling: VI. The Flax Movement: VII. Marriage with the Sister of a Deceased Wife: VIII. Kossuth and the Hungarian Revolution.

Among the works in theology and kindred topics recently announced on the continent are:

Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen, von J. W. F. Höding. Erlangen, 1851. 236 pp.

Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, von Dr. S. C. Schirlitz. Giessen, 1851.

Golgatha. Seine Kirchen und Klöster. Nach Quellen und Anschau von Dr. Titus Tobler, prakt. Arzte in Horn am Bodensee. Mit Ansichten u. Plänen (auch inschriftl. Beilag.) St. Gallen u. Bern, 1851. 554 pp. 8vo.

Die Wissenschaftlichkeit der modernen speculativen Theologie in ihren Principien beleuchtet, von C. A. Thilo. Leipzig, 1851.

Die Glossolalie in der alten Kirche, in dem Zusammenhang der Geistesgaben und des Geisteslebens des alten Christenthums. Eine exegetisch-historische Untersuchung, von Ad. Hilgenfeld, Dr. phil., Lic. Theol., ord. Mitgl. d. hist.-theol. Gesellsch. zu Leipzig. Leipzig, 1850. 152 pp. 8vo.

Predigten über die neuesten Zeitbewegungen, von Dr. A. Tholuck. 3. Heft: 10 kirchliche Zeitpredigten. Halle, 1851. 142 pp. 8vo.

Abhandlung über die Cosmogonie der heidnischen Völker vor der Zeit Jesu und der Apostel. Von Adolf Wutke, Privatdoc. d. Philos. an d. Univ. Breslau. Haag, 1850. 130 pp. 8vo.

Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la réformation de Luther, par Charles de Villers. Cinquième édit., augmentée du précis historique de la vie de Martin Luther par Melancthon: revue et publiée avec une préface et des notes par A. Maeder. Paris, 1851. 346 pp. 12mo.

Corpus Apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi. Edidit J. C. T. Otto. Vol. VI. Tatianus Assyrius. Jenae, 1851. pp. XL u. 192. 8vo.

Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit der theolog. Gesellschaft herausgeg. von Ed. Reuss und Dr. Ed. Cunitz. 2 Bdchen. Jena, 1851. 231 pp. 8vo.

La Bible. Traduction nouvelle, avec l'hebreu en regard, accompagné des points-voyelles et des accents toniques, avec des notes philologiques, géographiques et littéraires, et des variants de la version des septante et du texte samaritain. Par S. Cahen. Tom. XV. Les Hagiographes. Tom. III. (Jyob) Job. Accompagné d'une esquisse sur la philosophie du poème de Job, par Js. Cahen. Paris, 1851. 8vo.

Bibliotheca judaica. Bibliographisches Handbuch der gesammten jüdischen Literatur mit Einschluss der Schriften über Juden u. Judenthum und einer Geschichte der jüdischen Bibliographie. Nach alphabet. Ordnung der Verfasser, bearb. von Dr. Jul. Fürst. 2. Thl. I.—M. Leipzig, 1851. 409 pp. 8vo.

Among the works in Theology and kindred subjects recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

Thoughts on the Land of the Morning: a Record of Two Visits to Palestine. By H. B. Whittaker Churton, M.A., crown 8vo.:

—Lectures for the Use of Sick Persons, by the Rev. H. B. Bacon, fcp. 8vo.:

—The Church of England and the Church of Rome; a Charge delivered to the Clergy of Chichester, by the Ven. James Garbett, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester, 8vo.:

—Sermons: Preached for the most part in a Village Church in the Diocese of Durham, by the Rev. John Edmunds, M.A., fcp. 8vo.:

—A First Series of Practical Sermons, by the Rev. Frederic Jackson, fcp. 8vo.:

—Sermons, by the Rev. Steuart Adolphus Pears, B.D., one of the Assistant Masters of Harrow School, 12mo.:

—Hippolytus and his Age; or, Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus. With an Appendix, containing J. Bernaysii Bonnensis Epistola Critica ad Bunsenium, by C. C. J. Bunsen,

D.C.L., 2 vols. post 8vo. :—The Popes: an Historical Summary, from Livius to Pius IX., by G. A. F. Wilks, M.D., 8vo. :—A History of Erastianism, by Archdeacon Wilberforce, post 8vo. :—An Inquiry into the Theology of the Anglican Reformers: with Extracts from their Writings on the Apostolical Succession, Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, Predestination, Faith, and Works. With a concluding Dissertation on their value and authority in illustrating the teaching of the Church of England, by a Priest of the Diocese of Exeter, 1 vol. post 8vo. :—Fore-shadows; or, Lectures on our Lord's Miracles and Parables as Earnests of the Age to come, by Dr. Cummings, 2 vols. :—The Apocalypse Unveiled: an Analysis, a Harmony, a Brief Exposition, and a Practical Improvement of the Visions contained in the Book of the Revelation, by the Rev. Jas. Young, Vol. I., fcp. 8vo. :—The Nestorians and their Rituals, with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in 1842-1844, and of a late visit to those Countries in 1850; also, Researches into the Present Condition of the Syrian Jacobites, Papal Syrians, and Chaldeans, and an Inquiry into the Religious Tenets of the Yezedees, by the Rev. George Percy Badger, (Subscription price £2 :)—A New Commentary on the Apocalypse, by the Rev. Isaac Williams, B.D., in Eight Vols.; in small 8vo. :—Letters to a Seceder from the Church of England to the Communion of Rome, by W. E. Scudamore, M.A., in post 8vo. :—A Harmony of the Apocalypse; in a Revised Translation, from the best MSS., by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster :—Protestantism and Popery contrasted by the acknowledged and authentic Teaching of each Religion, edited by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A., F.S.A., of All Souls' College, Oxford; 2 vols. 8vo. :—The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry: with an especial reference to the Controversy on the Subject between Romanists and Protestants, by Edward Arthur Litton, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, 8vo. :—A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the

Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews, in the Form of Lectures, intended to assist the Practice of Domestic Instruction and Devotion, by John Bird, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in 8vo. :—Footsteps of our Lord and His Apostles: a Succession of Visits to the Sites and Scenes of New-Testament Narrative, by W. H. Bartlett, Author of "Walks about Jerusalem:"—The Wycliffe Versions—The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate, by John Wycliffe and his Followers; edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, F.R.S., late Fellow of Exeter College, and Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., F.R.S., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, 4 vols. 4to. :—On the Unity and Order of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Churches, by the Rev. Alfred T. Paget, M.A., of Shrewsbury School, 8vo. :—Toleratio Intolerabilis; or, the free development of the Romish System proved, by copious reference to its Canon Law, Councils, &c., to be inconsistent with the Safety and Welfare of the State, by the Rev. Henry T. J. Bagge, B.A. :—Philip Doddridge: His Life and Labours; a Centenary Memorial, by John Stoughton, fcp. 8vo. :—First Lines of Christian Theology, in the Form of a Syllabus, prepared for the use of the Students in Homerton College, by the late Rev. J. Pye Smith, D.D., edited by Rev. W. Farrer, LL.B., Secretary and Librarian of New College, London :—The Inquisition Revealed, in its Cruelties and History; with Memoirs of its Victims in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, England, India, and other Countries, by Rev. T. Timpson. Dedicated to Cardinal Wiseman, 12mo. :—Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations; being a Second Edition of his Lectures on this Subject, revised and enlarged, by Count Valerian Krasinski :—Democratic Ecclesiasticism; an Inquiry into the Principles of Church Government, advocated in "A Manual of Congregational Principles, by G. Payne, LL.D.," and in a Treatise on "Congregational Independence, by R. Wardlaw, D.D." By G. Turner.

AMERICAN.

PROPOSALS have been issued for the publication in Philadelphia of a new quarterly journal, to be called the "Presbyterian Quarterly Review," and to be "second to no Review in Europe or America." The names of the editors (Rev. Messrs. Wallace,

Barnes, Brainard, Parker, and Gilbert) are a sufficient guarantee that the work will be undertaken with ability and spirit.

WE understand that Dr. GEORGE PECK has in preparation a volume of "*Lectures to Young Men on the Formation of a Manly*

Character," which will be issued early in the spring. We can promise our readers, beforehand, a work at once resting upon a basis of sound religion and philosophy, and carefully working out the one main thought of "the formation of a manly character."

MOSHEIM's "*Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*," is now to be put before the public in an English dress. Vidal's translation of Vol. I has been revised and rearranged, and Vol. II has been translated by the venerable Dr. James Murdock, and published by Mr. Sherman Converse, in two elegant 8vo. volumes, under the title of "Historical Commentaries on the State of Christianity during the first three hundred and twenty-five years from the Christian Era."

It will gratify our readers, and the religious world generally, to know that the Messrs. Harpers of this city have in press the writings of the late Dr. Olin. They will be comprised in four volumes, uniform in size with his *Travels in Europe*. The first volume will contain Sermons and Sketches of Sermons from his MSS., which have never yet appeared in print. The second volume will be made up of Addresses on various occasions, and miscellaneous articles from his powerful pen. His admirable Lectures to the Students of the University on the Theory and Practice of Scholastic Life, with his Baccalaurean Discourses, will make a third volume; and the fourth will comprise an extended and graphic account of Greece and Constantinople. The volumes may be expected early in the ensuing spring. They pass through the press under the supervision of Dr. Floy.

We continue our summaries of the contents of the leading American Theological Journals:—

Christian Examiner, (Boston,) November:—I. Elias Hicks and the Hicksite Quakers: II. The German in America: III. Institution for Idiots in Berlin: IV. Stuart's Commentary on Daniel: V. Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac: VI. Animal Magnetism: VII. The Poet Rückert.

Mercersburg Review, November:—I. Early Christianity: II. Trapper's Life: III. Reverence and Religion: IV. Significance of the Christian Name: V. Christian Prayer.

New-Englander, (New-Haven,) November:—I. Physical Science and the Useful Arts in their relation to Christian Civilization: II. Dr. Isaac Barrow: III. Lord's Epoch of Creation: IV. Puritan Element

of the American Character: V. Campbell's Age of Gospel Light: VI. Stephen's Farmers' Guide: VII. Wilson's Church Identified: VIII. Memoirs of Wordsworth.

Biblical Repertory, (Princeton,) October:—I. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland: II. McCosh on the Method of Divine Government: III. Philosophy of Philo: IV. Relation of the Old to the New Dispensation: V. Schaff's Church History: VI. History of the Vaudois Church: VII. Review of Prof. Parke's last notice of the Repertory: VIII. Short notices of recent works, and Literary Intelligence.

Bibliotheca Sacra, (Andover,) October:—I. Life of Zuingli: II. Proofs of the Existence of God: III. Harrison's English Language: IV. Government and Popular Education: V. Latin Lexicography: VI. Nature and Kind of the Sounds of Speech: VII. Import of "They pierced my hands and feet," Ps. xxii, 17: VIII. Neander as a Church Historian: IX. Recent Works on Asia Minor.

Southern Presbyterian Review, (Columbia, S. C.), October:—I. Validity of Popish Baptism: II. Chivalry and Civilization: III. Life of Thomas Paine: IV. Moral, Social, and Professional Duties of Attorneys and Solicitors: V. Scripturalism and Rationalism: VI. Harmony of Revelation with Natural Science, with special reference to Geology. (Second article.)

Evangelical Review, (Gettysburg, Pa.), October:—I. Memoir of H. H. Muhlenburg, D. D.: II. Lutheran Doctrine of the Lord's Supper: III. History of the Jews: IV. The Protestant Principle: V. Bibliography: VI. Hymns from the German.

Brownson's Quarterly, (Boston,) October:—I. Newman on the True Basis of Theology: II. St. Bonnet on Social Restoration: III. The Hungarian Nation: IV. The Edinburgh Review on Ultramontane Doubts.

Church Review, (New-Haven,) October:—I. Jubilee Year, or God in History: II. Canadian Clergy Reserves: III. Sermons for Servants: IV. Obedience to Law and Private Judgment: V. Divine Rule of the Church's Legislation: VI. Jephthah's Vow: VII. Wilberforce's Theory and Pantheism.

Christian Review, (New-York,) October:—I. Grote's Greece: II. Dr. Woods on Infant Baptism: III. Beneficence the Noblest Aim: IV. Objections to this Life as the

only period of Probation, considered: V. Annexation of Louisiana: VI. Ultimate Supremacy of the Kingdom of Redemption: VII. Temporal Power of the Popes.

Theological and Literary Journal, (New-York,) October:—I. Brown on Christ's Second Coming: II. Designation of the Figures in Isaiah xiv, xv, xvi, xvii: III. Foreign Missions and Millenarianism: IV. The Holy Ghost the Author of the only Advancement of Mankind: V. Todd on the

Prophecies: VI. Ferguson's Eastern Architecture.

Southern Methodist Quarterly, October:—I. Footprints of the Creator: II. Relation of Infidelity to Civil Government: III. Analysis and Review of the first eight chapters of Romans: IV. Poems by Matilda: V. Chalmers and Sydney Smith on Methodism: VI. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN had, during the summer semester of 1851, 1329 students, of whom there were studying Theology 184, Law 558, Medicine 232, Philosophy and Philology 354. The Theological Faculty contains 5 Professors *ordinarii*, 5 *extraordinarii*, and 4 *privat-doctores*. The Philosophical Faculty numbers 30 Professors *ordinarii*, 27 *extraordinarii*, and 32 *privat-doctores*. The UNIVERSITY OF BONN numbered for the same half year, 1000 students, of whom 196 belonged to the Catholic Theological department and 77 to the Protestant. The Juristical department numbered 374, the Medical 125, and the Philosophical 228. At ERLANGEN there are 401 students, 170 in Theology, 150 in Law, 53 in Medicine, and 22 in Philosophy and Philology. At FREIBURG there were 355, of whom 169 studied Theology, 65 Law, 73 Medicine, and 48 Philosophy and Philology. At GIESSEN there were 409 students, of whom 70 studied Theology. At HEIDELBERG there were 603 students, of whom 47 were Theological. The University of JENA numbered 621 students, of whom 85 were Theological. At LEIPZIG there were 846, of whom 188 were Theological students; at TÜBINGEN 768, of whom 299 studied Theology.

JELF's Greek Grammar has passed to a second edition, 2 vols. 8vo, which is said to be corrected and enlarged.

A COPIOUS review of all recent works of value in Latin Grammar is given by WEISSENBOREN in the *neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* for July and August, 1851.

THE *Introductory Lectures* delivered by the Professors at the opening of the New College, (Congregational,) St. John's Wood,

are announced as in press. The subjects of the lectures are as follows, viz.:—I. The Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. By Rev. John Harris, D.D., Principal, and Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology: II. Earliest Form of Christianity. By Rev. J. H. Godwin, Professor of New-Testament Exegesis, and Mental and Moral Philosophy: III. The Study of the Natural-History Sciences. By Edwin Lankester, Esq., M.D., F. R. S., Professor of the Natural-History Sciences: IV. The Study of Mathematics. By Rev. P. Smith, B. A., Professor of Pure and Mixed Mathematics: V. Old-Testament Exegesis. By Rev. Maurice Nenner, Professor of Hebrew and the Oriental Languages, and of Old-Testament Exegesis: VI. The History of Classical Learning. By William Smith, Esq., L. L. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages, and Literature.

THE October number of Jahn's *Jahrbücher* commences a valuable survey of all the works on Roman antiquities that have appeared since 1840. The first article reviews Ruperti, Zeiss, Becker, Götting, Walter, Burchardi, Rückert, Schuch, and others.

WE continue our summaries of the contents of the principal foreign Journals.

London Quarterly, October:—I. Widow-Burning: II. Life and Works of Bishop Ken: III. Puritanism in the Highlands—the Men: IV. Correspondence between Mirabeau and the Count de la Marck: V. Wilkin's Edition of Sir Thomas Browne: VI. The Lexington Papers: VII. Lyell on Life and its Successive Developments: VIII. Papal Pretensions: IX. Revolutionary Literature.

Irish Quarterly Review, September:—I. Moir's (Delta) Poets of the Past Half Cen-

ture: II. Shiel: III. Historic Literature of Ireland: IV. Mr. Montague Dempsey's Experiences of the Landed Interest: V. Government Patronage at Home and Abroad.

Westminster Review, October:—I. Western Africa: II. The Marlboroughs and Reign of Queen Anne: III. Reason and Faith: IV. Newman's Political Economy: V. Gregory of Nazianzum: VI. Decisive Battles: VII. Process of Pleading: VIII. Life and Immortality: IX. Foreign Literature.

Edinburgh Review, October:—I. Comparative Philology: II. Dennistoun's Dukes of Urbino: III. Sources of Expression in Architecture: IV. Juvenile Delinquency: V. Mirabeau's Correspondence: VI. Metamorphoses of Apuleius: VII. Neapolitan Justice: VIII. The Anglo-Catholic Theory: IX. Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition.

Among the books in Classical and General Literature, recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch für alle Gebildeten. Von Dr. Joh. Scherr. 1. Hälfte. Stuttgart, 1851. 359 pp. Large 8vo.

Chateaubriand, sa vie et ses écrits, avec lettres inédites à l'auteur, par F. Z. Colombet. Lyon et Paris, 1851. 8vo.

Die Weltalter. Von Dr. K. Ch. Planck, Privatdocent. 2. Theil: Das Reich des Idealismus oder zur Philosophie der Geschichte. Tübingen, 1851. 309 pp. 8vo.

Histoire des peuples anciens et de leurs cultes, ou le monde primitif, historique et monumental, ou l'archéologie primitive, par M. l'abbé Desroches. Caen, 1851. 4to.

Statistique des peuples de l'antiquité. Les Egyptiens, les Hébreux, les Grecs, les Romains et les Gaulois. Economie sociale, civile et domestique de ces peuples; territoire, population, origine, races, castes et classes; agriculture, industrie, commerce, richesse publique; forces militaires. Par Alex. Moreau de Jonnes, membre de l'Institut. 2 vols. Paris, 1851. 8vo.

Arica. Scripsit Paul Boetticher, phil. Dr. Halae, 1851. 115 pp. 8vo.

Lehrbuch der höheren Mathematik, enthaltend die Differential- und Integral-Rechnung, Variations-Rechnung und ana-

lytische Geometrie. Nebst vielen Beispielen. Von Dr. T. Franke, Prof. zu Hannover. Hannover, 1851. 759 pp. 8vo.

Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques; par une Société de professeurs et de savants. Tom. V. (Persée—Quantité.) Paris, 1851. Large 8vo.

M. Cousin et ses doctrines, par M. Roux-Lavergne. Bruxell., 1851. 112 pp. 8vo.

Christian Metaphysics; or, Plato, Malebranche, and Gioberté; the old and new Ontologists compared with the Modern Schools of Psychology. By the Rev. Ch. Bohn Smyth. Lond., 1851. 266 pp. 8vo.

Lehrbuch der Psychologie. Von Dr. G. Schilling, Prof. zu Giessen. Leipzig, 1851. 214 pp. 8vo.

Among the works in Classical and General Literature recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

HISTORY of the Roman State, from 1815–50, by Luigi Carlo Farini, translated by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P., 2 vols. 8vo.:—The Germania of Tacitus, with Ethnological Dissertations and Notes, by Dr. R. G. Latham, Author of the "English Language," &c., demy 8vo.:—A Handbook of the English Language, by Dr. R. G. Latham, late Professor of the English Language and Literature in University College, London, 1 vol. 12mo.:—Lectures on the History of France, delivered in the University of Cambridge, by the Right Hon. James Stephen, K. C. B., LL. D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge:—Outlines of Universal History, from the Creation of the World to the Present Time, translated from the German of Dr. George Weber, by Dr. M. Behr, Professor of German Literature, Winchester College:—Memoirs of Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries, from Original Letters and Documents now first published, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Albemarle, 2 vols. 8vo.:—Travels in the East in 1850–51, including a Visit to Nineveh, by Lieut. the Hon. Frederick Walpole, author of "Four Years in the Pacific," 2 vols. 8vo.:—Recollections of Manila and the Philippines, in 1848, 1849, and 1850, by Robert M'Micking, post 8vo.:—History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond, 1204–1461, by George Finlay, Esq.:—Travels in European Turkey in 1850, through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedo-

nia, Roumelia, Albania, and Epirus, with a Visit to Greece and the Ionian Islands, and a Homeward Tour through Hungary and the Slavonian Provinces of Austria on the Lower Danube, by E. Spencer, Esq., 2 vols. 8vo. :—The History of the War in Afghanistan, by John William Kaye, written from the Unpublished Letters and Journals of the Most Distinguished Military and Political Officers employed in Afghanistan throughout the momentous years of British Connexion with that country, 2 vols. 8vo. :—Journal of a Visit to Thessaly, Albania, and Mount Athos, by the Rev. George F. Bowen, Rector of the Greek University in Corfu, in one volume :—A New Volume of Essays, by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S. :—A New Edition of Porson's Euripides, edited by Professor Scholefield, 8vo. :—A Tour in South Africa, with Notices of Natal, Mauritius, Madagascar, Ceylon, Egypt, and Palestine, by Rev. J. J. Freeman, Home Secretary of the London Missionary Society :—The Ansaryii, or Assassins, with Travels in the Further East, including a Visit to Nineveh, by Lieutenant the Hon. Fred. Walpole, R. N., 3 vols. 8vo., with Illustrations :—Travels from the Rocky Mountains to California, by the Hon. Henry Coke, post 8vo. :—The Life and Times of Dante, by Count Cesare Balbo, edited, with an Introduction and notes, by Mrs. Bunbury, 2 vols. post 8vo. :—Sir W. Hamilton's Critical Discussions from the Edinburgh Review, corrected and enlarged, 8vo. :—History of the English Railway, its Social Relations and Revelations, by John Francis, 2 vols. 8vo. :—History of Greek Classical Literature, with an Introduction on the Language, Biographical Notices, an Account of the Periods in which each principal Author lived and wrote, so far as Literature was affected by such History, and observations on the Works themselves, by R. W. Browne, Professor of Classics at King's College, London, 2 vols. 8vo. :—Spain as it is, by G. A. Hoskins, Esq., Author of "Travels in Ethiopia," "A Visit to the Great Oasis," &c., 2 vols., with Illustrations :—Outlines of the History of the English Language, with illustrative specimens, for the use of colleges and schools, by George L. Craik, Professor of History and of English Literature in Queen's Col-

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